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Alia's Shkoder Visit Deemed 'Unscrupulous'

AU1911093291 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 30 Oct 91 pp 3-4

[Report by Armand Shkullaku and Rakip Sulce: "Chronicle of an Unannounced Visit"]

[Text] Oh God! What kind of dream visited the president [Ramiz Alia] at midnight on Wednesday, 23 October? Was it no less than a dream of a Trojan horse, now that the shameful failure of communism has been the end of him? Indeed, it was precisely a Trojan horse. It alone could restore his now-vanished "glory." It alone could work within the ancient and crumbling walls of Albanian dignity. Throughout the night until the overcast morning, he contrived his horse, protected by the steel armor of the ancient Albanian laws of hospitality. He dispatched his horse. Where to? To Shkoder—a real Troy! If you capture Shkoder, he thought, you can win all of Albania, and gain credibility to boot, although the sin may weigh upon the entire nation. With such courage, he could win such a crown. He chose his horse and set off on it. Would Shkoder suffer a defeat, like Troy? How did Shkoder welcome the president and his horse? You will hear the answer from the mouths of the people themselves.

With the Broci Family

Lija, the mother of Arben Broci [one of four "martyrs of democracy" killed on 2 April in as yet unexplained circumstances] explains:

A few days beforehand, an aide came to me and said that the president would come, despite my refusal to see him. "Even if you do not receive him, he will go up to the fifth floor and find some neighbors of yours to visit," the presidential aide said, not leaving me time to utter a word. His visit was an accomplished fact before he even came. The evening before the visit, my brother Skender told me that the president's men had come, and had told him to tell Lija to prepare for the next day because the president was coming to visit after the performance in the Migjeni Theater. I told my brother that, if the president came to Shkoder, neither he nor my son Tani should receive him.

The next day at about 0820, my son came and said that he had met the presidential aide, who had told him that they would come to my home at 0900. I did not know what to do. Meanwhile, at about 0830, I heard noise outside. I saw their cars from my balcony. Because I was alone at home, I called a neighbor. While I was with her in the anteroom, I heard Tani telling somebody, "Come in!" I came out of the anteroom, saw the president in the room, and said to him, "Why have you come? I did not invite you." He was struck dumb. Custom forced me to say "Come in!" Meanwhile, I turned to the journalists and cameramen and unplugged their equipment, saying, "Get out!" The president, still dumbfounded, had still not sat down, so I said, "Sit down, because the president will not be killed with a bread knife." Nobody spoke for

five minutes. He was waiting for me to speak, but I had decided not to speak, as is the custom when someone is unwelcome in the family. Then, showing him the photographs on the wall, I said, "This is my son." I took the photograph taken at his death and laid it against my heart. "Is that where you keep it?" the president asked. "Yes, that is where I keep it, because that is his place. My son should not have been killed. He was killed on purpose because he clashed with the president's principles. He was killed on purpose to bring to heel the people and youth of Shkoder. He was killed because people, especially young people, respected him. He was killed on purpose to show the people of Shkoder that they would all be killed. But you made a mistake, because Arben's murder disgusted all the people of Shkoder, young and old. They gave you your answer two hours later, by burning down the committee building and everything that was in it," I replied in fury. As we spoke later with concrete facts about the crimes of the riot squads and the security service, the president played the innocent and asked his secretary to note down everything. "It is not possible," he said to us. "That is what your communists are like, and there is no reforming them," I said in disgust. Meanwhile, my neighbor Lano Ibroja interrupted and said that Arben could easily have been murdered elsewhere, in Tophane (our neighborhood), because the spies of the security service had been following him since 31 March. The president, not wanting to listen to this simple person (he is a cart driver) who had lived through the events, drew closer and said ironically, "The cart driver thinks he knows everything!"

Tani said, among other things, "Although you have come to our house, neither his family nor Shkoder will forgive his blood, because blood can neither be bought nor sold. While we spoke, the color came and went in the president's mud-colored face. Everybody was disgusted. Then, in order to show the public how revolted the family and everybody who happened to be there were, I allowed the cameramen and correspondents to film and record what we said. Under the pressure of the people present, the president began to babble crazily about his meeting with the Turkish president, the elections there, etc. His aide signalled to him, and he finally said, "It is late. I am going." According to custom, I accompanied him to the door. I did not reply a single word to his greeting of "See you soon, Lija." The crowd below greeted him with shouts, insults, and whistling, and with cries of "Have you no shame, coming to Shkoder?" "Give up your job!" "You have lied enough to us!" etc. Someone saw that his aides had left in a corner of the room two packages of cigarettes and half a kilogram of coffee beans wrapped in paper from a cement bag. He did this at the other families' homes, too. He has forgotten the customs of Shkoder, where people do not bring gifts at visits of condolence.

After he had left, I was very upset. For me, it was a second 2 April. The security service had spread the report that I had invited the president.

I protest all the slanders and lies broadcast on television. What I have said is the truth, just as true for me as the blood of my son.

With the Kryeziu Family

Nazmi Kryeziu's wife Bukuria says:

It was 0830 when Lija's brother Skender, accompanying the president in Shkoder, told me that the president would come to my home. I was struck dumb, and said to myself, "So this shameless character wants to come after seven months, for no reason, not even for an anniversary!" I was alone, so I called my neighbors. I began to cry, and felt worse. My neighbors said, "Has he no shame, asking to come?" They told me that, according to custom, there was no way in which we could throw him out. Nazmi's family came. The president entered my home at about 1000. I began to weep. "Be strong," he said. "I cannot be strong, because he should not have died," I replied. He was introduced to my in-laws, and sat down. His face was as yellow as a lemon. He did not know what to say. "I have two fatherless children to bring up," I said, while my 10-year-old son began to cry, holding his father's photograph in his hands. "We want blood," I said. The president justified himself: "I had no hand in the murder. If I had wanted to kill people, I would have had everybody killed, not four. If you want, I can give you the recording of the 2 April meeting."

My brother-in-law interrupted: "You have come late, and it would have been better not to come at all, rather than after seven months." "If I had come earlier, it would have been worse for you and for me." Various people interrupted and left nothing unsaid. The president's face was white as a sheet. He trembled, and did not know what to say. My brother-in-law said, "We cannot forgive his blood. The murderers must be found as soon as possible. If someone from the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] had been killed, 2,000 people would have been arrested. It would be good to see you, too, in court."

Pretending not to understand the meaning of this last suggestion, the president said, "I am not the investigator." "Then just to come and listen," my brother-in-law said. Meanwhile, my youngest son came home from school, full of hatred, and wanted to insult the president. "How can that man who killed daddy and left us orphans come here?" The people outside could not contain themselves. Everybody shouted insults, asking for the president's resignation. Shaking and with his head bowed, he stood up. He bade us farewell and we escorted him to the apartment door. The protesting crowd outside was waiting for him...."

Nazmi Kryeziu's mother says:

"We received him because he came to our home. Under such circumstances, even an enemy must be received. [Under traditional Albanian customary law, a house cannot deny hospitality to anybody, even an enemy in a blood feud.] He entered our house without uttering a

word. I said to him, 'You shot my son in the back. I am a woman of Shkoder and my husband is a Kosovar. I know very well that Albanians cannot be shot in the back. In the war, my husband did not betray the communists, although he was offered 200 gold Napoleons to hand them over. Now the communists have killed my son.' I did not allow my other sons to enter, because they would have had to shake the president's hand. We did not invite him. We offered him coffee and cigarettes according to custom. For me, he remains the principal culprit. I never want to see his face again."

At the Ceka House

The sister of the martyr Besnik Ceka says:

We knew absolutely nothing about this visit. We set off for work in the morning as usual and only our mother was left at home. When we heard the news, my father and I both turned back. It was an entirely unexpected surprise.

Ramiz Alia entered our house at about 1000. When he took the courage to enter this house, we could not throw him out. This would have been called treachery and would have been against Albanian custom. As soon as he entered, he said:

"A terrible thing has happened to you."

At first, we did not speak, but our father then said to him, "What does your visit mean? Where were you these seven months? We were very offended when you called us vandals on television."

The president did not speak. I only remember that I myself said to him, "I am disgusted at Gramoz Ruci [former interior minister]. This gentleman is going to boycott the People's Assembly if the Tepelene murderers are not found, while he does not deign to stand up for one minute's silence in memory of those who were killed." The president was silent again. I spoke again. "Why are the real culprits not arrested, especially Xhemal Dymylja, who wanders about at whim? As first secretary [of the Shkoder District PPSH Committee], he bears the main responsibility."

The president replied, "You are right. We will arrest them as soon as we have certain facts, because misunderstandings are now arising. For instance, aid was stolen here; does that mean that Ali Spahia should be arrested as committee chairman?"

Throughout our conversation, we made it clear to him that we will not forgive our brother's blood. He stayed about 30 minutes with us. He drank his coffee. We saw him off, and the people who had gathered outside caused no incidents. When we went back inside, we saw that they had left behind two packages of cigarettes and half a kilogram of coffee.

As we left, Besnik's mother said to us, "Why should someone who did not even send a telegram of sympathy

come after seven months?" However, Albanians have customs and people are generous, so they welcome even their foes.

With Bujar Beshanaku's Family

As soon as he entered, he turned to our father: "How are things?"

Bujar's brother replied, "Very bad. We have a lot of worries. All because of the PPSH. For us, you are to blame until others are found."

The president said, "You are right, because he was the darling of your hearts. I am not two-faced. I am straightforward. Rest assured that I had no hand in it."

After this exchange, the martyr's father interrupted, "Why do you not arrest Xhemal Dymylja?"

"You are right. He should have come out that day, even at the risk of being killed. However, I do not have the right to arrest him."

Bujar's mother interrupted in tears, "You killed my son that day when he was hungry. He had eaten nothing."

The president remained silent and was given coffee according to custom. Our father again asked, "Where have you been so far, Mr. President?"

The president: "I remember some verse of Father Fishta's: 'The wise man is in no haste because of his valor, not out of fear.' I could have come earlier, but it would have been more difficult. I now saw it was proper. Some people love me, and others insult me and call for my resignation. That is my business."

In order to extricate himself, the president continued, "When Arben Broci's uncle came to my house, I told him that now you can insult me as much as you like, because you are in my home."

Bujar's brother interrupted: "Things should be said frankly and straightforwardly."

Bujar's brother interrupted. "We welcomed him according to law [kanunore]. We will never forgive our brother's blood. For me, he is our number-one enemy, although he drank my coffee. He and his comrades imprisoned us, persecuted us, and now kill us."

His grandmother: "When he entered, it was as if Bujar's murderer had come in, but we were obliged by custom to receive him."

Bujar's father said to us at the door of the house, "Ramiz Alia is not sincere. If he had really come to express sympathy, he would have had no reason to advertise himself by bringing journalists and cameramen. The Beshanaku house is a house of mourning, not a spectacle."

At the Migjeni Theater

Equipped with a ticket and an invitation, I was at the door of the Migjeni Theater at 1045 in order to attend the memorial program dedicated to Father Gjergj Fishta [1871-1940, poet whose works were banned under communist rule]. Strangely, the door was closed and people were protesting, waving their tickets. After 1100, when the performance was supposed to have begun, the police came and moved us away. We saw the president arrive in front of the theater. As the president ascended the steps, I was so shocked and disgusted at his presence in Shkoder on Fishta's anniversary that I turned to him in indignation:

"How can you dare to come to Shkoder and speak to the intellectuals whom you and your party murdered and tortured for 50 years? And on the anniversary of Fishta, whom you have disparaged and dragged through the mud for half a century?!"

He turned to me and extended his hand, asking, "How are you?"

"I am an Albanian, but I will not give you my hand," I said.

Laughing, he replied, "As you like," and moved on.

Jerina Shiroka: When the president passed in front of me, he offered me his hand. I did not reciprocate. He said to me, "One gives one's hand to a guest."

"You are an uninvited guest," I replied. To my amazement, the president, trembling, pulled out an invitation...!

Ndoc Cefa, theater director: On the afternoon of 22 October, I met Stefan Capaliku and Xhyher Cani of the Father Gjergj Fishta Association in the theater. They were upset because Bashkim Hoxha, the spokesman of the president's cabinet, had come to request an invitation. All the invitations had been distributed. I could not help him either. Xhyher then improvised an invitation with the president's name. We all expressed surprise and suspicion about the arrival of the president. He was the president and could come without an invitation. The next day, somebody from ZERI I POPULLIT told Xhyher that the president would come. We did not take this report seriously. At 0800 on the following morning, two people introduced themselves as members of the leadership's security staff. They told us that the president would come at 1100. They showed interest in the hall, and asked who would stay by the door. They were worried about anybody entering without a ticket. I was inside when the president arrived. When he entered, only a small section of the audience stood up. A few people applauded. It was a chilly reception. The police closed the door, and some people who had tickets, including journalists, remained outside. Some people also walked out of the hall because of the president's presence.

The performance started with the national anthem and I was struck by the fact that everybody rose to their feet immediately, but the president did so only after a slight delay. Perhaps he had still not recovered from the "shock" of his reception by the people. The performance concluded successfully for us. The president said he had enjoyed it. I remember the state of tension of a radio- television journalist who was near me. She could hardly breathe, but muttered, pointing at the president, "What is he doing? What does he think he's letting himself in for?"

Qazim Lika: I would like to recall a moment while the president was at the Fishta performance. Ndrek Luca mounted the stage and recited a poem, first saying that it had been written by Pano Taci, who had spend a quarter of a century in prison under the PPSH. The poem was dedicated to Fishta's grave.

Oso Kuka wakes the sunsets

Dasho Shkreli gives the call

Enver Hoxha fills the prisons

Oh Albania, in tears of woe....

After these lines, the audience applauded and embraced Ndrek Luca. Ramiz Alia remained silent. For me, this was a real challenge to the president.

As the president was leaving, Bashkim Hoxha rubbed his hands together and murmured, "We survived that. America comes next." Meanwhile the crowd shouted insults at Dritero Agolli, who was at the president's side, saying, "What about you? Why did you bring him here to Shkoder?" This threat from the crowd forced Dritero to leave the president's side and obliged the police to intervene in order to move away the people who were ready to sink their teeth into Ramiz, automobile and all.

Luli Gjeka: I was not heading anywhere in particular, but chanced to pass the theater when I heard shouts in a vocabulary forbidden in polite conversation, but nevertheless employed in this case. Against whom? When I arrived at the scene, I was not particularly surprised. I said to myself, "So the president is among us!" I saw him getting into his car, waving at the theater people with a hand that looked like a stump. I compared him with his predecessor, the same in content, but different in form.

Because of the pressure of the people, it was impossible for the president to meet with representatives of the political forces and the religious communities at the Executive Committee. The meeting was therefore held....

At the Former Guest House in the Hills of Teqe

The representatives of the Democratic Party [DP] and the Independent Trade Unions decided not to take part in this meeting. Nikolin Thana was not present as a DP representative, but as a staff member of the Sports Section of the District Pluralist Executive Committee.

Haxhi Hafiz Sabri Koci, chairman of the Muslim Community, says:

I was not personally aware of the president's arrival in our city. A telephone call from the Pluralist Executive Committee early in the morning told me that I should turn up to meet him at 1300. I had a religious ceremony to conduct in Oblike that day. After completing this, I hurried to reach the meeting with the president on time. A car waiting for me in front of the Executive Committee, took me to the guest house. We had a cordial meeting there, and I wished the president welcome. Representatives of the political forces, the Catholic clergy, and we were present. We discussed many issues and we as clergy asked for compensation for the property of charitable foundations. We also asked for aid that arrives to be sent directly to its destination instead of being stored as previously. The president said we were right and promised that our property will gradually be returned to us and that he will take a special interest in Shkoder, in order to help the city overcome its backwardness. We left at about 1445.

So far, honored readers, we, too, have been able to "follow the footsteps" of our "acting" president. Afterwards, not a single person in Shkoder saw him in the city or on earth. Does the earth not want him, or does he not want the earth? The mist will soon clear, and the whole truth will emerge.

We return from Shkoder, as the president's horse crumbles into ashes.

Terrified lest suicide should claim the president, we pray to God all night that his resignation will rescue him in the morning. However, our well-meaning anxiety, faced with his unscrupulousness, has been childish naivete. He still sends greetings telegrams all over the world. It is now all over. There is no cure for his soul. Albania is suffering from a Ramizian disease. For how long?

Democratic Party Doubts Assembly Initiative

*AU1711204391 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT
17 Nov 91*

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—The Democratic Party [DP] of Albania has since the beginning declared that it will fight for the realization of the great national ideals for unity and democracy of the Albanian nation, a statement of the DP says. Likewise, this party has long since presented the principles of the platform of national conciliation, considering it as an indispensable act for the establishment of democracy in Albania. But the DP is of the opinion that an activity of so great dimensions and of such lofty aims should be carefully and wisely prepared by all the Albanian political forces. A multilateral dialogue among the political forces and the Albanian democratic institutions is an indispensable condition for the serious preparation for such an event which should be held only when its success is guaranteed. In this

process the victims of the splitting policy applied in Albania by the Party of Labour for half a century should play a special role.

The DP voices its profound sorry that such an historical, nice, great, noble ideal like that of national conciliation and unity is starting with such an unstudied initiative, which shows that somebody is more interested to gain a political capital than to really realise national conciliation and unity. It is certain that completely honest intellectuals preoccupied for the fates of our suffering nation and many Albanian personalities in Kosovo and the diaspora may be engaged in the initiating group. But, we would like to remind you that they are diabolically instrumentalized to play with the great fates of the country and democracy in the present historical moments, we have great doubts that the said initiative has been inspired by a small number of people who through this act want to make a profitable political step to the benefit of the present communist rulers.

The DP declares before all the Albanians in the world that well-organized communist forces are using all manner and means for the destabilization of the country, something which is completely the opposite of what the "appeal" of the intellectuals demands. These forces are once more seeking to realise the split, by pouring crocodile tears over this split, putting the blame on the victims of the split.

The DP and other opposition forces together with the other Albanians in all the world who have fought and dreamt of a democratic Albania will gather in the assembly of national conciliation only when they are convinced that after that conciliation and tranquillity will prevail.

The DP states that it will use all its authority and prestige so that the assembly of conciliation be organized in the proper time and in order that it become a major act (not only a festive one) to crown a successful national conciliation and unity, the statement of the DP, signed by the chairman of the DP, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha says.

Democratic Party Appeals for Newsprint

*AU1811152091 Tirana ATA in English 1258 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Tirana, November 18 (ATA)—In an appeal to the press addressed to all states, organisations, associations and outstanding democratic and progressive personalities all over the world, the Albanian Democratic Party states among others:

In Albania, side by side with democracy, the democratic newspapers appeared. They endorse the strengthening of and triumph of democracy denouncing with moving facts the hated toppled communist regime as well as the dangerous manoeuvres of the old communists under new guise. But for ten consecutive months, the democratic press threw light on monstrous deeds of the communist regime, backed up any initiative for reforms and

progress and became spiritual and hopeful nutrition for the people. The communist party, metamorphosed in the Socialist Party has Radio-TV in its service, putting at its head its loyal man. Through this powerful means of the mass media, the camouflaged communists under the socialist colours distort the course of events and do their utmost to hinder the progress of democracy. One of them is also the trick for not issuing the democratic newspapers under the pretext of lack of paper. The Stability Government is responsible for this. It seems it applies the special instructions of the monist president. The newspapers did not appear precisely on November 8, the day of the founding of the communist party, because the democratic press would condemn this shameless action of the most regressive political forces of the country.

Under these circumstances the Democratic Party addresses the UNO, the CSCE and its other member countries, the EEC, the G-24 [Group of 24] to help the democratic press in Albania by sending paper for the publication of these newspapers.

Independent Intellectuals Reject Assembly Call

*AU1811152291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] A declaration in connection with the call for an assembly of national conciliation and unification issued by the Forum of Independent Albanian Intellectuals states that the problem of national conciliation and unification has been and remains one of the cardinal issues for our people and nation. Nobody can therefore remain indifferent to it. First of all, the idea of calling such an assembly is something that must be left to all social and political forces and the pan-national public. It cannot be a monopoly of a sole party or a group of anonymous intellectuals.

Only one objective can be grasped from the published platform: an effort to resuscitate the politically discredited corpse of the Democratic Front with a different, more attractive name. The initiators of this pan-national event are a group of intellectuals, many of whom are former members of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] and now members of the Socialist Party, who wish to use the idea of national conciliation for the purposes of political speculation. The PPSh and its instruments employed the tactic of national division in our lives for almost half a century. It would be painful to revive these instruments in whatever form. Only the victims of one-party society have the moral right to be the heralds of such an assembly. Our genuine democratic rebirth and our nation's ascent to the level of European countries can no longer be achieved by social and political forces that belong to the past. The Forum of Independent Albanian Intellectuals takes the view that, under these circumstances, calling such a national assembly does not assist but obstructs national conciliation and unification, and serves the specific propaganda aims of one party.

Because of these reasons, the Forum of Independent Albanian Intellectuals does not consider it appropriate

to join the call to this assembly. Such an assembly can only be prepared after a roundtable and a consensus among all political forces within and beyond the state borders, secular and religious societies and associations, and distinguished personalities in all fields. A decision can be made and a date appointed only after their approval.

Shkoder Students Begin Hunger Strike 18 Nov

*AU1811200291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] We have just received a report from our Radio Shkoder correspondent about the beginning of a hunger strike by students at Luigj Gurakuqi University in Shkoder.

They have taken this step because their demands addressed to the University Rectorate, the Pluralist Executive Committee, the Education Ministry, and the National Stability Government about their living conditions, social peace, the conduct of their classes, etc. have not been met.

The students and several teachers taking part in the strike have announced through Flamur Bucpapaj, chairman of the strike committee, that they will not give up their strike before all their demands are fulfilled.

Tirana Radio Ceases Broadcasts in Hungarian

*LD1911092591 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT
19 Nov 91*

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian-language news service of the Tirana radio has been terminated as from late October, MTI's correspondent reported. The Hungarian broadcast, a scourge of Hungary's policies since the 1960s, was eliminated along with nine other foreign-language news services. The measure came in the wake of political changes in Albania.

"By our foreign-language broadcasts we used to strive to spread Albania's views all over the world. Now we are striving to adjust Albania to international standards. Of our broadcasts, we have scrapped those with the fewest listeners," Albanian radio director Thimi Nika said.

Up until this October, the Tirana radio broadcast a 15-minute Hungarian programme every day. There were three translators working in the Hungarian section, one Albanian and two Hungarians.

"We were instructed to depict everything in socialist countries as bad, negative. Our work, however, has always remained without any response. We hardly ever received any letters. We had no idea for what purpose we were working," the Albanian translator Ana Gjotukaj said.

Ludzhev Meets Army Leadership Upon Assuming Post
AU18:1115291 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 13 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Colonel Ivan Ganchev report: "National Security Above Everything"]

[Text] On 12 November at 1100 at the Ministry of Defense a meeting took place between Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, and the new minister of defense, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev on the one hand, and leading cadres of the Ministry of Defense—deputy ministers, department heads, and sector heads—on the other.

President Dr. Zhelev was brief and businesslike. With a few brief sentences he introduced the new minister of defense and guaranteed that the Army's interests will not be harmed by the fact that a civilian, Mr. Ludzhev, has been appointed minister of defense.

Mr. Zhelev thanked Army General Yordan Mutafchiev and, in his person, the Bulgarian Army for its loyal behavior during the period after 10 November 1989, when the reforms of the country's comprehensive socio-political system began. Dr. Zhelev explained that in all probability Army General Mutafchiev will have the status of chief inspector, in charge of parliamentary control over the country's armed forces. This issue will be decided by the National Assembly.

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov was even briefer in his statement. He stated that the appointment of a civilian as minister of defense is aimed at eliminating any control of any political party over the Bulgarian Army—the main element of national security—which, as he put it, must be led only by considerations related to national interests, rather than the color of the government.

Army General Mutafchiev greeted his successor and reported (I use the military concept deliberately), on what has been accomplished within less than a year, since the time when, in contradiction to the obsolete cadre practice, he suddenly found himself in the office of persons who used to be considered irreplaceable.

Army General Mutafchiev said that along with the changes that have taken place in society, democratization has asserted itself in the Army. Opinions differ and are sometimes even contradictory, however, this is a matter of competence and of being familiar with the "kitchen" where the changes are being prepared. The changes have begun. The Army has generally proved its loyalty to the legally elected legislative and government organs.

It is true that the army structures are rather conservative, Army General Mutafchiev said, but this is characteristic of every army. However, this does not apply to the officers' mode of thinking. He then thanked the previous government of Mr. Popov and gave personal thanks to

President Dr. Zhelev on the understanding the leadership of the Ministry of Defense had encountered in resolving the military personnel's social problems, whose solution had been delayed for a long period of time.

In conclusion, Army General Mutafchiev pointed out the expansion of the Ministry of Defense's international relations, and the fact that experience outside the obsolete stereotypes of the Warsaw Pact, was beginning to be studied, and confirmed the opinion of the president and the prime minister that the Army must implement the political decisions of the government, solely in the interest of national security.

Without pretense or assuming the pose of a professional officer (avoiding topics such as military branches, types of armed forces, military management, and so forth), Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev presented his views in a businesslike manner. Then all attending generals and officers were introduced to him by Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, commander of the General Staff. Afterward the new minister called for cooperation, without hiding his intention to continue the reforms. He gave the Army credit for its loyalty, which had allowed the country to use the two years of civic peace and social stability to come close to the processes that are taking place in other East European countries. Minister Ludzhev especially stressed that during the period of the changes that have taken place so far, the Army really behaved as a genuine all-people institution.

He announced that now that the reforms will be accelerated, the Army will also be affected. There will be structural changes in the name of national security. Respect will be shown for the social status of officers and all other personnel. In addition, there is hope that the bills on defense and on the Armed Forces will rapidly be adopted by the National Assembly.

Minister Ludzhev promised to guarantee the continuity of the best traditions of the history of the Bulgarian soldiers, (something that was neglected for many years, and that our newspaper decided to correct by filling in the "white fields" of our military history).

At the end of the meeting, Army General Mutafchiev wished success to the new minister and Mr. Ludzhev proposed a toast to the joint and fruitful work with the generals and officers who comprise the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense.

In the coming days Mr. Ludzhev will meet the staffs and personnel of the branches of the Armed Forces.

New Defense Minister Ludzhev Outlines Plans
AU1611193291 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 11 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with newly appointed Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev by Valeri Vasev; place and date not given: "Consistent, Open, and Honest Policy"]

[Excerpts] [Vasev] Mr. Minister, before we start our interview, please accept our congratulations, and I hope that our readers will join us in offering them. You are the first civilian defense minister since 1944. What do you have in your briefcase, and what plans do you have for your future work?

[Ludzhnev] Thank you very much. My dealings, if I can so describe my contacts in the military field, date from the time when I became President Zhelev's chief adviser. In fact I dealt with the whole range of issues connected with national security and defense. Later, serving in Mr. Dimitur Popov's government, I was again responsible for defense and security and was also a member of the National Security Council.

[Vasev] So you gained a bit of experience?

[Ludzhnev] Yes, these institutions dealt with all important documents and questions relating to defense, the Army, and its structures down to the smallest details, including providing specific supplies, finance, and so on. We even looked at problems connected with gasoline supplies, payments to military enterprises, setting up new military production lines, production sharing with foreign states in the military field, and so on. Incidentally, I am also chairman of the State Commission that controls military production and trade in military products.

[Vasev] In short, you are no novice in the military field, a fact that you demonstrated when your candidacy was discussed in parliament....

[Ludzhnev] I would like to say something important to make the situation clear. I take up my ministerial post to implement our concept and views concerning the administration of this very important and very sensitive sphere. In other words, in the military field we will apply the same principle that we applied in the economy and in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, namely the separation of the state's function of control and conducting policy from the specific function of administering a given activity. In the economy, this was achieved by the state withdrawing from direct command. In the military field, this will be done by allowing the soldiers, General Staff, and structures of the Army to get on with their jobs, while the Ministry of Defense will be transformed into a real civilian institution that will implement government policy and the policy of the state in general, since the president is the commander in chief. The National Assembly will exercise control, and so on.

This means that the new ministry will carry out the principled policy of restructuring our Army and shaping the new strategy in conformance with the new situation in which Bulgaria finds itself. The ministry will also be responsible for the military budget, financing, foreign relations in the defense field, and so forth. It is no accident that one of the most thorny problems in the new defense bill (which in fact we sent back two or three times) was how to separate the military from the civil

power, while ensuring that the state exercised real control over the Army. This is why the bill contains passages that set out the rights of the president, government, National Assembly, and so on. You can judge from this whether or not I am a novice, although naturally I am no great professional expert in the narrow military field. [passage omitted]

[Vasev] I must ask one very important question: How will you organize your private office, who will be its members, and what will your relations be with the General Staff?

[Ludzhnev] Frankly, I was somewhat surprised when the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] recently nominated me for this post, so that I cannot say that I have worked out any specific plan in this connection, all the more because I know from my previous experience in state work that when one starts to solve a problem, the first thing one must do is to obtain detailed information, and from this the specific solutions follow. In principle, the issue may be defined like this:

The minister will have his own private office, which will include his own advisers on political, legal, and most of all military matters. The ministry will have an inspectorate through which the minister will control the various military structures, to put it in the most general terms, and naturally certain aspects of the ministry's activities will be retained that concern various fields, ranging from military production to strategic issues. However, please excuse me for not saying anything more on this matter. The distinction between the minister and the General Staff is built into the text of the future defense act.

[Vasev] Very well, but are you acquainted with the Army's problems, and when can we expect to see your program for solving them?

[Ludzhnev] I am fully acquainted with the Army's problems from my work both as a deputy prime minister and during my election campaign in the Yambol Constituency, where there are many officers as you know. The problems fall into several categories.

The first group concerns the restructuring of the Army infrastructure—in peace and wartime: the level of reserves for mobilization; the changeover to a new type of configuration, let us say in the sense of an army corps system; redeploying the Army, and so on. These are issues in the military sphere.

The second group of problems is connected with provisioning the army—both material supplies and finance. We know that the situation is very grave, that the budget resources are insufficient, and that until recently the position was very difficult with the deliveries for maintaining the Army (mainly from Russia). A ban existed, and many of our joint developments came to a halt. However, the situation is different now. The entry of our relations with Russia into a new phase is also leading to a new cooperation agreement in the defense field. You

know that a Bulgarian delegation was in Russia, and concrete results are about to emerge: Special indicative lists will be available for supplying the Army with the necessary spare parts, and so forth.

Other issues also exist. Our cooperation with the NATO structures and other countries, such as the United States and Israel, the mastering of new types of equipment, new methods, and so on.

The third group covers social problems, which are among the most serious. We did something in the previous government about housing problems, pay, and so on, but these problems still face us. Many of them have not been settled, especially regarding junior officers. Trade union issues remain to be settled, as do problems connected with drawing up a more up-to-date code of regulations for servicemen. It is planned to settle this question in the draft law on military service. I think this bill is a very good one, and the National Assembly should adopt it. So you see, we have many things to solve, and I believe that everything will be settled soon. The Army is one of the largest and most expensive structures, and it is not so easy to make changes in it.

[Vasev] What changes await us in the near future?

[Ludzhev] Structural changes have already taken place, and I believe that there will be more. They are even embodied in the projects drafted by the ministry's previous leadership. They are entirely connected with the concept of restructuring the Army and adopting new dimensions for it, in accordance with the Paris and Vienna accords and the new situation in the Balkans. Thus, the transition from one principle of leadership—from the Army to the Army corps form—clearly requires a reorganization of all the Army structures. There is also the very serious question of the infrastructure that remains from the time of the Warsaw Pact, when we had quite different tasks, enemies, and so on. We cannot now maintain such concepts, which require peacetime and wartime structures. All this is hard for us to accept. The problem will remain, and it was embodied in the views of the previous defense minister and the General Staff. Another problem is to speed up these processes of change, because it seems to me that they were difficult to get started. [passage omitted]

Privatization Bill Not Sent to Legislature

AU1811183691 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov, chairman of the parliamentary Legislative Committee, told a press conference today that 18 bills have already been submitted to the committee but that the privatization bill was not among them. According to Mr. Dzherov it will be submitted within a month.

This week the Legislative Committee, the only parliamentary committee constituted so far, will consider the parliamentary rules of procedure draft, the bill moved by

the Union of Democratic Forces on the restoration of misappropriated state property and two laws passed by the Grand National Assembly which were vetoed by the president: The Pensions' Act and the General Accounting Office Act.

Most probably parliament will first debate the bill on the restoration of misappropriated state property. If passed it will directly affect the Bulgarian Socialist Party (formerly Bulgarian Communist Party) and several other official organization from the time of the communist regime. The Socialists' faction will counter this bill with a bill on the political parties' property.

It will become known which bills will be given priority in a few days, after the parliamentary legislative programme is drawn up. Among the bills submitted so far are amendments to the Foreign Investment Act, to the labor and family codes, to the Public Administration Act and bills on the civil service and on the temporary suspension of civil servants' dismissals.

This week parliament will debate and probably adopt its rules of procedure. It took the former socialist-dominated parliament five months to do so.

BSP Rally Denounces Proposed Property Bill

AU1811201991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
15 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Bulgarian Socialist Party address read by Georgi Bliznashki at a rally in Sofia on 14 November]

[Text] Dear fellow countrymen.

A bill has been put before parliament innocently called the bill "For the Return of Seized State Property", the practical aim of which is to confiscate all the Bulgarian Socialist Party's [BSP] property. The author of this bill is the present prime minister and Union of Democratic Forces' [UDF] leader, Mr. Filip Dimitrov. The proposed bill, as well as the threat issued from the parliamentary rostrum by Ahmed Dogan, leader of the anticonstitutional Movement for Rights and Freedoms [MRF], to propose a bill banning the BSP are political moves reminiscent of the Law for the Defense of the State created by the most reactionary forces in our country during 1924 and 1925.

The political right wing in our country, the UDF, with the help of its ally the MRF is making use of its marginal parliamentary majority to be overtly aggressive toward the progressive forces in Bulgaria. What the gentlemen did not manage to achieve in the elections, that is the elimination of the BSP from the political scene, they are now trying to achieve through the mechanism of the vote.

The bill for the total confiscation of the BSP's property is an act of repression against inconvenient political opponents. It is exceptionally dangerous, especially today when new Bulgarian democracy is establishing itself.

Using methods, typical of totalitarianism, the most serious political opponent is being deprived of an opportunity to conduct its normal constitutional activities. This aggressive act is directed first and foremost at the BSP, which has made a decisive contribution to surmounting the totalitarian past, the democratic transformation of the country, the preservation of civic peace, and the creation of a new political and economic system. The blow is directed against a party that represents a third of the Bulgarian electorate and that has only one percent less votes than the ruling SDS force.

The BSP leadership has repeatedly stated, including at the last session of the party's Supreme Council, that it supports returning property that it and other parties and organizations acquired during the totalitarian-bureaucratic past to the state. All political parties today must only have what they need to carry out their normal political activities. The BSP does not want anything else than this for itself. The bill on the political parties' property, proposed by the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, is subject to this idea.

However, instead of using normal parliamentary and democratic channels to resolve this question, the SDS chose the extremes of emergency legislation—repression, the political retribution of force. This is why we turn to members of parliament, to the president of the Republic, to all Bulgarian citizens with an appeal not to allow this law to be passed. It would deal a heavy blow not only to members of the BSP but to young Bulgarian democracy.

The SDS's bill is unconstitutional. It contradicts one of the most important norms of our Constitution, namely that the confiscation of property is not permissible except under specific circumstances specified in the Constitution and only then after first paying in recompense a sum equivalent to the full value of the property. This act also contravenes the principle of the division of power. Parliament is requested to resolve the civil law dispute between the state and individual legal persons that refers entirely to the competence of the court. All this is occurring after the finance minister has submitted his respective claim to the court that is expected to examine it.

The proposed bill has nothing in common with the practices and norms of a civilized state. It envisages the confiscation of all the property of various parties and organizations paying no attention to the time of and the grounds for its acquisition. The bill is based on the inadmissible presumption that all the BSP's property was acquired illegally. One of the basic principles of a rule of law state has been grossly violated, namely that all allegations must also be proven within the framework of normal legal procedure. The political aims of the bill's authors are also revealed in their selective approach. It is obviously not accidental that the bill has missed out numerous other organizations that also received government subsidies during the time of the totalitarian system. The severe penalties imposed on those who wittingly or unwittingly "obstruct" the implementation of the bill

also show its repressive nature. We should not overlook the fact that the "confiscation" of property envisaged by the law is expected to be implemented according to administrative procedure, namely by the police.

The aim is clear and overt—to rout the political opponent, to place certain political parties and organizations on an unequal footing, more specifically, to oust the BSP from political life and to deprive it for a long time of any possibility of fulfilling its political activities laid down in the Constitution.

This is why all of us, gathered in this historical square, the Socialists of our country, all citizens who care about the fate of democracy, raise our voices in decisive protest and insist that:

The passage of this antidemocratic bill should be blocked because it will disgrace democratic Bulgaria and soil its international prestige and authority.

[Signed] On behalf of all participants at the rally that took place in Sofia, in Aleksandur Battenburg Square, on 14 November 1991 at 1800.

Government Approves Banking, Credit Bill

*AU1811183491 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—The government approved today a bill on banking and crediting. This is a modern bill borrowed from West European legislation, National Bank Governor Todor Vulchev told reporters. Its principal aim is to defend depositors and to restrict profiteering. Prof. Vulchev expects the bill to be submitted to parliament by the end of the week and is ready to defend it.

This bill does not settle the issue of the banks' consolidation. This will be left to a special consolidation commission and the process will probably take one or two years.

At its session today the Council of Ministers approved a draft agreement between the governments of Bulgaria and Turkey, under which the two countries should warn each other in cases of nuclear accidents and exchange information on their nuclear facilities. It was initiated by Turkey and will be signed for an indefinite term. Bulgaria has signed a similar agreement with Greece.

The government allocated almost 50 million leva for the preparation and the holding of the presidential elections in January 1992. This amount does not include the candidates' campaign expenditure.

KNSB Appeals For International Support

*AU1811174591 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
13 Nov 91 pp 1, 3*

["Open Letter" from the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria

to international trade union organizations; place and date not given: "The Provocation Related to Property Is an Attack Against Independent Trade Unions"]

[Text] To the European Confederation of Trade Unions in Brussels; to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; to the presidents of European trade union centers; and to the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva:

Dear brothers, we appeal to you at a very crucial moment in the development of the trade union movement in post-totalitarian Bulgaria. For several months the trade unions have increasingly been subjected to attacks. Action to curtail their rights is under way. Article 12 of the new Constitution of Bulgaria contains an unprecedented ban on trade unions barring them from all political activities. Under the conditions of difficult and dramatic changes in our society this ban actually prevents the trade unions from all active participation in public life. The Law on Political Parties also includes a number of restrictions relating to the trade union's public activities. The recently adopted Electoral Law, which contains a whole series of coercive and restrictive clauses, the expression of opinions and preferences for candidates and parties running for elections included, is a particularly striking example in this respect.

An unprecedented new campaign relating to the confiscation of trade union property has been conducted in the mass media in the last few days. It is unprecedented not only because the attack affects the property acquired using membership fees by a democratic organization such as the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], but also because the campaign is inspired and perpetrated by another institution (which also claims to be a trade union organization), namely the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. In two consecutive television programs on 11 November, leading experts from this organization called on parliament urging it to confiscate the property of the KNSB on a legal basis. In addition to this, the "legal" argument was submitted by Mr. Emil Lalov, a former officer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Sixth Department (which was the political security department under Todor Zhivkov's regime), who is Dr. Konstantin Trenchev's legal adviser today.

The "blow below the belt" from our trade union partner precedes by only a few days the debates in parliament on the Property Confiscation Bill which does not contain any claims on the property of the independent trade unions. It is significant to point out that certain leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) (former Communist Party) have joined the provocation by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, which is asking why the parliamentary claim does not include our leadership. The reason for the hint is quite evident and the tactical move is transparent—the BSP cannot forgive the KNSB for firmly supporting democracy and for playing a decisive role in overthrowing Andrey Lukanov's government.

Immediately following its establishment, the KNSB returned all of the property (mainly recreation homes) that had been built with the resources of the state, of state enterprises, and public institutions. The total value of this property exceeded 200 million leva according to 1990 prices. This value amounts to at least more than 2 billion leva today. We are ready to share the rest of the property with the other trade union—namely with Podkrepa. There have never been any doubts or obstacles to this intention. Proposals for a division of property on the basis of the number of members belonging to the two confederations were submitted in 1990 and in 1991. As is known, we confirmed this intention in our talks with the delegations of the European Confederation of Trade Unions and of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions that visited our country in the spring of 1991 and met the leaderships of the two trade unions. In implementing this promise the question was again raised at a meeting behind closed doors of the two trade unions' executive organs held in the summer of 1991 and an agreement was reached on establishing contact groups in charge of working on the procedure of dividing the trade union property.

Why is the KNSB again being attacked and why is the attack launched at this particular moment, when our trade union has repeatedly demonstrated its goodwill and adopted practical steps for the settlement of the controversial problem of property?

The KNSB Executive Committee is convinced that the claims for the confiscation of its property serve merely as a pretext and a cover for a more distant goal, namely to attack the independent trade unions and to eliminate them from the scene of social and economic struggles to clear the path for the implementation of an extreme monetary [monetarski] variety of the economic reform.

It is amazing, but true, that the method used in Latin America, which led to the establishment of several banana republics, is now being repeated in Bulgaria. When a new type of economic system is being introduced and a country is opening up to the world and to international capital, strong trade unions are regarded as an obstacle to the unhindered introduction of powerful financial economic groups that are likely to transform the former serfs of the former party-state socialism into hired hands deprived of all rights and property.

We are far from upholding the paranoid idea about some new conspiracy being plotted against the countries of Eastern Europe, despite the fact that there is evidence for this and the facts coincide to an amazing extent. We ask ourselves, however, what role our competitor, the Podkrepa trade union, is playing in these events and whether it can still be defined as a trade union at all. These misgivings are confirmed by the relations between the Podkrepa leadership and certain monarchist circles and organizations, as well as with members of the former fascist "Legion" who (along with real democrats) were accepted into the ranks of the new coalition of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

The KNSB (along with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation) was accepted as a member of the East European Trade Union Forum under the European Confederation of Trade Unions. For this reason, precisely, we appeal to you, at this alarming and dramatic moment, calling for your trade union solidarity and urging you to support our firm resolve of resolutely defending trade union rights and property. What happened a few months ago in Hungary is now happening to us. The Hungarian trade unions did not surrender. The KNSB does not intend to surrender either, because trade union rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the Bulgarian Constitution and by other laws of the country as well as by international conventions (such as Convention No. 87 and Convention No. 89 of the ILO). Nevertheless, the defense of our property is likely to distract us from our basic duty—namely the protection of the socioeconomic interests of our workers and of all employees under the present difficult situation of crisis—and could destabilize social peace in our country.

Your assistance would not merely be an expression of solidarity for an organization, but a contribution to the support of democratic and independent trade unionism, which was just born in Bulgaria and throughout Eastern European and which plays a decisive role in the difficult and dramatic transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

With trade union greetings!

Signed: The KNSB Executive Committee.

The open letter is accompanied by documents, facts, and other evidence that is to be submitted to the headquarters of the European Confederation of Trade Unions in Brussels; to the International Confederation of Trade Unions; to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, and to the ILO.

Following this step, the KNSB intends to request an appropriate investigation, to be conducted by experts from competent international organizations, into laws and other legal acts that restrict trade union rights and freedoms in Bulgaria.

Podkrepa Claims KNSB 'Distorts' Truth

*AU1811184391 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
14 Nov 91 pp 1, 2*

[Plamen Darakchiev article: "Professors Attempt To Deceive International Public"]

[Text] On 13 November, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] sent a letter to international trade union centers and the ILO [International Labor Organization]. This letter's character and attempts to distort the truth are unprecedented. The fact that the KNSB can deceive and manipulate its members is, as people say, its own business. If they are foolish enough they will believe their leaders. However, in trying to deceive the international trade union public, the

KNSB clearly embarrasses our state, the Republic of Bulgaria. Did the nomenklatura not amass enough sins? Was our country's international prestige not sufficiently hurt? Why is a formation that tries to resemble a trade union now continuing the blacklist?

However, let us now return to our sheep, as the French say, and examine in detail the declaration by the KNSB Executive Council members.

Lie no. 1 is the claim that the attack (naturally, the attack by Podkrepa and the democratic forces) is aimed at property acquired through funds collected as membership fees by a democratic organization such as the KNSB. If the KNSB considers itself a democratic organization only since it changed its name about two years ago, the question is when did it succeed in purchasing and amassing the property it has. And if it utilized the membership fees exclusively for acquiring the property, the question is: What means did it use for its organizational activity and trade union protection? Why should demagoguery be used when it is absolutely clear that the issue involves property acquired during the period in which even Professor Petrov does not dare claim that the Bulgarian Trade Unions was a democratic organization.

Finally, let us and the professor, former ideologist of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and now KNSB leader, understand each other: The Bulgarian Trade Unions was never a trade union or a democratic organization. It was simply a satellite organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] with functions temporarily assigned to it by the BSP, which aimed at implementing the party program, as its former charter points out.

Lie no. 2 is the claim that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation wanted to split the KNSB property. Podkrepa never wanted to divide this property. It always posed the issue of the property of the official BCP satellite organization, which called itself Bulgarian Trade Unions, in a principled manner. It is precisely this issue that has now acquired a topical character. Afterward, the government will decide how much property the free trade unions should receive.

Lie no. 3 is the KNSB claim that actions aimed at restricting the rights of the trade unions in Bulgaria are adopted without its knowledge. The facts are actually so clear. During the roundtable negotiations, it was Professor Krustyu Petkov himself, the "trade union" leader, who constantly attributed political acts to Podkrepa and defended the basic premises of the Law on Political Parties, "ratified" one month later by the communist National Assembly. Once again, it was the KNSB that facilitated the adoption of the Law on Collective Labor Conflicts with its anti-trade union tenets. At the time, Podkrepa immediately protested against that law.

Let me finish with a word to the KNSB Executive Council: One should not try to deceive the international public with elementary tricks. Not that one could deceive the international public. This is absurd. The important thing is to protect the country's authority,

damaged for almost half a century by the totalitarian party and its satellites, including the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Everything else is only yesterday's tricks.

BZNS-United Adopts Organizational Changes

*AU1611203691 Sofia ZEMEDELKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 12 Nov 91 p 1*

[ZEMEDELKO ZNAME staff report: "Meeting of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United Permanent Board]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]-United assessed the work related to the preparations and implementation of the BZNS-United accountability election campaign. The members of the Permanent Board reported on the development of the accountability election process by drawing the relevant conclusions and submitting appropriate recommendations. It was reported that a certain intensification of activities is felt after the last session of the BZNS-United Administrative Council. Critical remarks about the activities of local and municipal agrarian associations were voiced at recent meetings and specific recommendations for a more resolute stand of the BZNS-United Permanent Board on the organizational stabilization of the Agrarian Union were submitted.

The state of the Tsanko Tserkovski Publishing House was reviewed. The leadership's resignation was accepted,

and measures for overcoming the crisis in that particular institution were mapped out.

In accordance with a decision of the BZNS-United Administrative Council from 24 and 25 October 1991, the BZNS-United Permanent Board discussed a report of the commission in charge of examining the situation of the daily ZEMEDELKO ZNAME. It was unanimously decided to work for a prompt stabilization of the union's press organ to achieve its direct participation in the accountability election campaign and in preparations for the forthcoming BZNS-United congress. The members of the Permanent Board pointed out a number of shortcomings in the administrative and creative work of the editorial collective and recommended that the leadership of the newspaper submit a plan on the resolute improvement of its activities within the forthcoming days.

The staff of the editorial board was also reorganized. The BZNS-United Permanent Board accepted Yosif Petrov's resignation from the post of ZEMEDELKO ZNAME director and appointed Toncho Karabulkov in his place. It was decided to considerably cut down the administrative creative staff of the paper's editorial board in accordance with the changes in the country's political, economic, and social conditions and in conformity with the approach of the BZNS-United to the current events.

In connection with the gross slanders and unspecified accusations launched against Tsenko Barev, secretary of the BZNS-United, that appeared in certain press organs, the Permanent Board recommended prompt and unanimous measures to unmask and punish the slanderers by bringing them to court.

Leaders Respond to Havel's 17 Nov TV Address**Carnogursky Interviewed**

*LD1911054991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Slovak 1815 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Ivan Kosec on 18 November; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kosec] Mr. Prime Minister, what is your reaction to President Vaclav Havel's address?

[Carnogursky] It was a very dramatically presented address. The Slovak side—during current talks with the Czech side—be it on the soil of political movements or during the last meeting of the National Councils presidia—has accepted proposals put forward by the president in the Federal Assembly on 24 September. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] Vaclav Havel also appealed quite resolutely to the population, to citizens. How do you see this fact?

[Carnogursky] I think, I am afraid, that this appeal will not be sufficiently effective until political issues are sufficiently clarified in some way, including the issue whether or not the Czech side accepts the speech delivered by the president in September.

[Kosec] President Vaclav Havel proposed five draft laws. How do you see their contents and their possible consequences?

[Carnogursky] I am not yet able to give you a stand, a sufficiently specific stand on all of them. However, it seems to me that the Christian Democratic Movement should accept, or will accept, at least the draft amendment of the constitutional law that says that the new Federal constitution should be ratified by the National Councils and also the draft constitutional law on a new structure of the Federal representative body. I agree that a new structure of the Federal Assembly should be set by law. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] Is, in your opinion, the Federal Assembly in the present situation able to adopt some of these laws?

[Carnogursky] I think it is able to adopt some of them. But as for all of them, I am doubtful there. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] Marian Calfa has promised that the government would shortly prepare the relevant drafts mentioned by President Vaclav Havel. How do you view the appeal of Vaclav Havel toward the Federal Government and the entry of the Federal Government into issues concerning the state setup?

[Carnogursky] I would say, first of all, that there are no restrictions on initiative. After all, the Federal Government has at its disposal a highly qualified and broad staff of experts from various spheres—from the economic and legislative spheres. From this point of view, the Federal

Government can draft valuable material that could be the basis for solutions. When we proceed from the fact that the National Councils will have the last word, after all, at least because they will have to ratify the draft constitution, thus the decision will rest with the National Councils. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] Vaclav Havel also said that his efforts so far have brought only very small results and that politicians are more interested in directives from their political boards.

[Carnogursky] This is an expression of a certain view of the political situation. It is necessary to recognize the fact that political parties and movements went to elections with some programs, and they still continue to advocate some program also in the state setup sphere; thus, their representatives feel bound by them. To be more specific: the Christian Democratic Movement, for example, went into the election saying that it wanted to ensure for Slovakia an equal position in the future amongst European nations. I believe that we continue to assert this program, also during the present talks, that we are fulfilling it and that we are achieving some results. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] Mr. Prime Minister, just to sum up: What do you see as the way out of the present crisis?

[Carnogursky] Above all, in continuing the talks between Slovak and Czech representatives and arriving at a solution and a way out.

[Kosec] Allow me one more, last question, Mr. Prime Minister. CSTK carried a report today on the death of former President Gustav Husak. How do you see him in the context of our history, or in connection with our history?

[Carnogursky] Gustav Husak was a prominent personality in our history, and I think that his place in Slovak history is assured. It may not be a black or white place, but it may be the place of a personality who combines both positive and negative elements. I would like to stress the fact that Gustav Husak, already as a student, helped form the left-wing movement in Slovakia, which is an integral and legitimate part of Slovak political history. He participated in the Slovak national uprising in Banska Bystrica. And next he participated in shaping the new Czechoslovak Republic, with the February 1945 talks in Moscow, when the Kosice government program was declared, and then later in allowing or banning parties and, above all, during the preparation of elections in May 1946.

By the way, in that period, as chairman of the state administration, Gustav Husak ensured that an altar that was in a chapel in the building that now houses the government office was not damaged or lost somewhere and that it was taken to Dubravka, which was Husak's home village, and was thus preserved for the present. We have been able to return it to its original place. If we should follow the next fate of Gustav Husak, then we

must not forget the fact that Gustav Husak spent almost 10 years in prison accused of "Slovak nationalism," called "bourgeois nationalism" at that time. Then, Gustav Husak contributed significantly to the creation of the federation in 1968 and displayed—one could say rather too great a sense of "realpolitik" in August 1968 when Czechoslovakia was invaded by Warsaw Treaty armies. He then, in fact, adopted Soviet Union's positions, implemented the normalization policy in Czechoslovakia—this will be something that historians in the future will hold against him most of all—they will hold it against him; however, they will be historians.

Spokesman Explains Havel's Appeal

LD1811153291 Prague CSTK in English 1341 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is not seeking extraordinary powers, but rather those commonly granted to heads of state: the power to dissolve parliament, to call new elections and to issue legal measures in the form of presidential decrees, Havel's spokesman said today.

At this week's regular briefing, Michael Zantovsky focused on Havel's television appearance yesterday in which he appealed to the population to help the country's legislative bodies out of their current stalemate in the search for a new constitutional arrangement.

Havel also explained the legal initiatives he is proposing to strengthen the powers of the presidency in constitutional matters and to further define the structure of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Zantovsky said Havel's appeal was motivated by the unsuccessful talks between the Czech and Slovak National Councils (parliaments) on the country's future setup, and by the Federal Assembly's failure last week to approve the wording of a popular referendum on the issue.

Another reason for the appeal was the expressed desire to preserve the common state of Czechs and Slovaks which Havel encountered during his talks with Slovaks while on a working visit to the Slovak Republic last week, Zantovsky said.

Zantovsky denied that Havel's appeal to citizens to make their views known to their parliamentary representatives was manipulation, and noted the importance of the rights of petition, of assembly and of association.

Elaborating on Havel's stated intention to initiate a new electoral law guaranteeing that future legislatures will be filled with people who have the trust of the voters, Zantovsky said the president leans toward the majority electoral system, although with some modifications.

The results of Poland's parliamentary elections three weeks ago demonstrated how a proportional system can lead to the fragmentation of political power, Zantovsky observed.

No Polish party won more than 13 per cent of the vote in an election with extremely low voter turnout.

Havel consulted with several federal officials before giving his speech, according to Zantovsky. The only official Zantovsky mentioned by name was Federal Premier Marian Calfa.

This week Havel has invited representatives of parliamentary parties to meet with him to discuss his proposals.

Meciar Criticizes Speech

LD1811200991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Interview with former Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Alicia Bielikova on 18 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] Mr. Chairman, what is your reaction to President Havel's television address yesterday?

[Meciar] The situation of a state reflects the quality of its leadership. If there is a crisis, it is not a crisis of citizens but of the political leadership and the political structures of the state. The address by President Havel has convinced me that this was one of his inappropriate speeches and that, in fact, he is trapped in a vicious circle. He keeps returning to the same solutions, to the crisis that for one and a half years have not found any realistic reflection in Czechoslovakia and that cannot solve anything.

The reason why this address has alarmed me is that the president is a democratic institution, but deputies are also a democratic institution. So why does he invite citizens to start a battle against deputies? He has become president by their will. What sort of means can a citizen use to comply with his appeal? What should he throw? Stones, eggs? Should he spit at them? Or in what other way can he force them to change their views? The Federal Government is now entering this struggle.

I am worried that this struggle is exceeding the limits necessary for the preservation of Czechoslovakia. On the one hand, President Havel strives to achieve a semi-presidential regime by increasing his powers and jurisdictions, which is one of the reasons why his February proposal was rejected, not the one of January 1991 to which he refers. The other thing is that the Federal Government says that it will resolutely enter these issues—where was its place up to now? It says that it wants to gain powers, position, and jurisdictions for itself. So, in fact, under the pretext of bringing to attention the disintegration of parliaments, both the executive power and the power of the president should be disproportionately strengthened. This is not in the interest of the state's stability; it is an element of the state's instability.

The dramatic tone of the address, the way it was delivered, is impressive, but the address did not offer any

ways out; it drives the country into a crisis, where an emotionally-toned national factor meets a social factor and together they (?contribute) to political unrest. If they continue to do things in this way, and if they are going to build the republic in this way for another six months, then nobody will be able to save anything anymore, nobody will be able to put things together, and they will create an explosive chaos that will be irreversible. In this respect, they have great responsibility toward the citizens. A dramatic appeal does not change anything about this.

[Bielikova] But President Havel put forward five proposals of his?

[Meciar] Five times the same thing. As to the first draft of a constitution that he proposed, it was his own initiative and it was not possible to accept it as a basis for negotiations because, in fact, it was a constitution of a different system than the one that is historically established in our country. Therefore, we considered it merely as material for consultation. Since then, it has been said many times that the republic will be built from below, but to this date this principle has not been properly adopted and the entry of the federal bodies [into the talks on the future setup] is a sign that it is being abandoned. This is a breach of political agreements.

[Bielikova] But in one of his proposals President Havel says that he wants to amend once again the bill on a referendum and put back into it the demand to give the president the right to call a referendum of his own will, provided the Federal Government agrees to it.

[Meciar] Let us look at the real situation. This, in fact, means that a referendum will take place when (?the president wants it). Can anybody imagine that Mr. Calfa would be able to oppose President Havel? There is, in fact, only one radical opposition politician in the Federal Government, and that is Mr. Klaus. That is one vote that means that what President Havel wants will happen under the present system. Why should the parliament give up its right to decide such an important matter? Why should it transfer this right to the president, together with other powers, since this is not the only one that the President demands.

When we proposed that the binding criterion should be the will of the citizens, the Federal Assembly did not accept this, and President Havel cannot expect that the parliament will act as a puppet theater—that it will approve something one week and something else next week, just because he wishes so. The whole structure of democratic power-building is based on the principle of individual powers being independent of one another. The parliament cannot be subordinate to the president. The parliament must be independent, and between them must be a braking mechanism that has not yet been created. In this respect, the constitution will have to be completed. However, this completion cannot be done by the present leadership anymore, since it is unable to give the constitution a form or define its basic philosophy.

Then there is another issue, and that is that the citizen himself should seemingly decide a certain thing. But, for this purpose, he has chosen and pays well the representatives who should give him a solution. If they are unable to give him this solution, then it is their crisis, not the crisis of the citizen.

Republic, Party Leaders Comment

LD1911061791 Prague CSTK in English 1855 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CSTK)—Milan Sutovec, chairman of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today said the legislative initiatives President Vaclav Havel proposed on Sunday "are likely to encounter great problems".

Havel said in a televised speech he will propose to the parliament soon amendments to the laws on a referendum and on the Czechoslovak Federation and present a bill enabling him to dissolve the Federal Assembly and to rule by decree until after new elections, a bill on restructuring the parliament and an electoral bill.

Sutovec told CSTK dissolving parliament would solve nothing, but rather would further complicate matters.

He said that now the only way parliament can be dissolved is in the case of disagreement over approval of the budget. Even if parliament were to be dissolved, its function would be taken over by its Presidium, which can pass laws in the form of legislative measures, Sutovec said.

He added that the institution of presidential decrees is not laid down in the law on the Czechoslovak Federation. Also, the parliament cannot be dissolved five months before elections. (The next elections are due to be held by June 1992.)

Martin Porubjak, chairman of the Civic Democratic Union (ODU-VPN), said if the parliament ceases to function, he agrees with the president on dissolving it and calling early elections.

Czech National Council (parliament) Deputy Chairman Jan Kalvoda (Civic Democratic Alliance - ODA) told CSTK he sees Havel's initiative as a "fundamental step aimed at averting a constitutional crisis".

Jan Holcik, chairman of the Slovak Government coalition Democratic Party (DS), told reporters in Bratislava the party supports all of Havel's proposals, in particular amending the law on holding a referendum.

"Unqualified backing" for Havel's proposal for amending the referendum law and the law on the Czechoslovak Federation was voiced by the Club of Committed Non-Party People (KAN) in a statement given to CSTK.

Vaclav Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), said his party has a "restrained" attitude towards Havel's initiatives.

At a press conference Benda said "Mr. President obviously fails to realise his complicity or share in bringing democratic development in Czechoslovakia to this critical stage".

However, Benda said the KDS will support Havel's proposal for amending the law on a referendum, although Benda gives it little chance of success, as well as Havel's "most important and best proposal" for a law on the restructuring of the parliament.

Benda called Havel's proposal to amend the law on the Czech Slovak Federation "problematical".

Petr Vilhelm, spokesman for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), said the party is studying Havel's proposals but believes "the current political crisis cannot be settled by curtailing democracy but, on the contrary, by defending and strengthening it".

The leadership of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) "supports in principle the president's proposals in view of the gravity of the situation", Josef Zanda, the CSSD vice-chairman, and Ivan Fisera, chairman of the Social Democratic-oriented Deputies' Group in the Federal parliament, told CSTK.

Jan Chudomel, spokesman for the Civic Movement (OH), said the OH backs Havel's initiatives and joins his appeal for popular support.

Rudolf Battek, chairman of the parliament's House of the People, said have is "seeking the impossible".

He told CSTK he is in favour of facilitating the proposed bills passage through parliament but expects it to encounter major obstacles.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky said at a meeting with heads of five district offices (local administration bodies) in North Moravia in Ostrava today that Havel's proposals are clearly aimed at deepening democracy.

Leaders of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) said in a statement to CSTK that, "If the parliament is no longer functioning, then it is necessary to change it through democratic elections and not to strengthen the powers of the president".

"(Havel's) dramatic address contains no realistic solutions, but rather deepens the crisis...", they said.

"We now evidently have a crisis in shaping a common state, a crisis within government coalition parties, and not a crisis among the people, who are imprudently called to take active measures," the HZDS leaders said.

Dienstbier, Lebedev Discuss Troop Damage Claims

*LD1911030191 Prague CSTK in English 1820 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Aleksandr Lebedev met today to discuss ongoing negotiations on financial compensation for damage caused by the Soviet Army during its 23-year occupation of Czechoslovakia.

They agreed that high-level officials from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry will meet soon in Prague to discuss the Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) process and disarmament.

They also talked about ways for Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union to help ease the fighting in Yugoslavia.

They discussed a possible December date for a planned visit to Czechoslovakia by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to sign a new Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty.

Dienstbier Sees 'Danger' in Ukraine Developments

*AU1711154091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 14 Nov 91 p 2*

[CSTK report on Dienstbier's speech to the Federal Assembly delivered on 13 November: European Dangers"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the context of the developments in the USSR, Dienstbier pointed out the danger the Ukraine would be to Czechoslovakia if a populist dictatorship took power in that country. An army stronger than Germany's could appear at the Czechoslovak border, and the question of Soviet nuclear weapons has not yet been settled. [passage omitted]

Soviet Stand on CEMA Assets 'Inflexible'

*AU1811205791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 15 Nov 91 p 15*

[CSTK report: "Political Problem Already"]

[Text] Moscow— The negotiations of the liquidation commission on the division of assets of the former CEMA are assuming the hallmarks of a serious political problem. This was stated by Hugo Kysilka, the deputy of Czechoslovakia's permanent CEMA representative, in an interview with the CSTK correspondent yesterday. The procrastination regarding the division of the Council's assets continue to be caused by the Soviet side's inflexible stand on the question of the valuation of CEMA property, the Czechoslovak representative said. The USSR insists that the valuation of the Council's property be carried out in rubles [R]. Its only concession

has been to raise the value appraisal from the original sum of R36 million to R108 million.

Uranium Ore Processing at MAPE Plant Ended

*AU1811142191 Prague CESKE A
MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY
in Czech 15 Nov 91 p 7*

["jav"-signed report: "MAPE Has Stopped Uranium Processing"]

[Excerpt] Mydlovary— Yesterday the MAPE plant at Mydlovary near Ceske Budejovice stopped with final validity the chemical processing of uranium ore. The concentrate produced at Mydlovary has been used, among other things, for the production of fuel for nuclear power stations. [passage omitted]

October Prices, Cost of Living Indexes Issued

*AU1811205191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 15 Nov 91 p 8*

[Report by the Department for Trade and Price Statistics at the Federal Statistical Office: "Development of Consumer Prices and the Cost of Living in October"]

[Text] The aggregate level of consumer prices in October remained roughly at the level of the preceding month (0.1 percent drop). Slight price reductions for industrial goods and restaurant and cafeteria meals (0.5 percent), as well as for food (0.1 percent), were offset by a relatively marked, 2.5 percent, increase in the cost of services.

Within the framework of the above categories, larger-scale price movements, compared with the preceding month, were registered in both directions. Prices of eggs and egg products increased 4.3 percent, prices of milk and dairy products 3.1 percent, prices of meat and meat products 1.2 percent, and prices of fat 3.2 percent. On the other hand, the prices of sugar and sweets declined

1.1 percent, prices of nonalcoholic beverages 0.8 percent, and prices of other food products 0.4 percent. The prices of most industrial merchandise slightly declined (particularly on account of sales), but moderate price increases were registered as well—for shoes, household utensils, and cultural merchandise. The increase in the cost of services was affected mainly by the 21.8 percent increase in the price of electricity (the increase in electricity prices will become fully reflected in the month of November).

Compared with December 1990, October consumer prices were 49.4 percent higher. Of this, prices of industrial merchandise rose 66.4 percent, the cost of services 46.1 percent, restaurant and cafeteria meals 44.7 percent, and food prices 27.9 percent.

The December 1990-October 1991 increase in consumer prices in the Czech Republic was 4.4 percent lower than in the Slovak Republic. However, the development in the two republics during the month of October varied. While in the Czech Republic prices rose 0.2 percent [between September and October], in the Slovak Republic they declined by 0.4 percent.

The aggregate level of consumer prices was 52.7 percent higher in October than in the same period a year ago.

The cost of living in October remained stagnant, compared with September, in the households of blue-collar workers, white-collar workers, and cooperative farmers (0.1 percent increase), but in the households of old-age pensioners it rose 0.7 percent.

Correction to Czech, Slovak Differences on Treaty

AU1811152391

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Czech, Slovak Differences on Treaty Viewed," published in the 18 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 9:

Column one, last paragraph, second sentence, make read: ...after the talks, counted all the controversial items in the text.... (rewording for clarity)

Border Violation Talks With Yugoslavia Begin

*LD1911024991 Budapest MTI in English 1537 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—Negotiations of the committee investigating border violations, biannual session started in Belgrade today, Frontier Guard spokesman Janos Zubek told MTI. At the session, Hungarian Frontier Guard National Commander Brig. Gen. Balazs Novaky is expected to urge Yugoslavia to remove the mines on the Yugoslav side of the border, the spokesman said.

Also, Yugoslav refugees are still coming in greater numbers than going: from Friday to Monday morning, 97 Yugoslavs asked for shelter from Hungary, while 22 Yugoslavs returned home.

Spokesman Rejects 'Scaremongering' on SFRY Border

*LD1911111391 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Deliberate scaremongering can be noted in the Hungarian counties bordering Yugoslavia in order to make those living there politically and economically insecure. We asked Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti to comment on this:

[Unidentified correspondent] Our editorial department has received several phone calls reporting that soldiers have committed suicide and that the situation on the Yugoslav border is horrible. Is this true?

[Keleti] It is not true. These rumours are completely unfounded. At the same time we also see, we receive many signals, that in various parts of the country, primarily near the southern border, unfounded rumors are spread. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you know who is spreading these dreadful rumors?

[Keleti] Unfortunately, we have not managed to find those who started these rumors in any of the cases. At the same time it is also strange, and we must not let it pass without mentioning, that these rumors are designed to cause panic, they are designed to keep the population of the country, especially near the southern border, insecure. That is, these reports serve somebody's interests.

[Correspondent] Can you do anything to stop this?

[Keleti] Unfortunately, we cannot. We try to give correct answers to questions of this nature. We try to calm down the population. I ask everyone to be calm. The Hungarian Army is ready to defend the country. We also ask them not to believe these rumors and not to spread them. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Comments on Border Issue With Slovakia

*LD1811191891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio
Network in Czech 1130 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky commented today on the statement of Czechoslovak Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, about the situation which could arise on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border if Slovakia becomes independent. Jeszenszky said that the statement could have been addressed to extremist groups in Slovakia. He described what is happening there as a sort of deviation which will disappear within two years provided that responsible politicians deal with the problems in European way.

Geza Jeszenszky also said that it is mainly necessary in Slovakia for the Hungarian minority to reinforce their rights on the principles of self-administration.

Jeszenszky, Pankin To Sign Basic Agreement

*LD1911142591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister will visit Hungary at the end of November so that he and Geza Jeszenszky can initial the Hungarian-Soviet basic agreement, Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman announced. At the same time the spokesman announced that in the course of their discussions Boris Pankin and Geza Jeszenszky will make preparations for Jozsef Antall's Moscow trip.

At a press briefing the spokesman added that our country has sent a draft bilateral basic agreement to Romania and that Deputy State Secretary Imre Szokai has invited his Romanian counterpart to Budapest for consultations on this topic. It was also stated at the briefing that the drafting of the Hungarian-German basic agreement is progressing well.

Russian Oil Export Contract Status 'Still Unclear'

*LD1911073691 Budapest MTI in English 1641 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Moscow, November 19 (MTI)—The means of implementing the Russian decree revising oil export contracts is still unclear. Thus whatever the decree's effect may be on this year's oil deliveries from the Russian Republic to Hungary is too difficult to gauge.

Counsellor Janos Ambrus, head of the Hungarian commercial representation in Moscow, told MTI last week's Hungarian-Russian trade talks in Moscow did not mention anything to cast doubts on this year's deliveries.

Over the weekend, however, Counsellor Ambrus contacted Russian authorities, and asked for further information about the unexpected step. Although no official reply has come yet, the trade representation leader was reassured by his Russian partners, who said deliveries to Hungary will probably be unaffected by the decree.

Present oil deliveries are continuous and, as Ambrus said, the Hungarian companies concerned have so far not received any indication to expect possible restrictions, and are uninformed about the exact details of the decree.

The Hungarian delegation to the talks was headed by Lajos Berenyi, International Economic Relations Ministry deputy secretary of state.

Deputy Secretary Views Soviet Oil Supply Problem

*LD1911144791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0545 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Hungary has a valid contract with the Soviet Union for the delivery of 400,000 tonnes of mineral oil for this month and a further 170,000 tonnes for December. [passage omitted] Jeno Merza talked to Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, following Yeltsin's announcement [that he is suspending earlier export permits], which surprised many people. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Berenyi] I have to emphasize that since September, since the time that the Adria pipeline has not been functioning, this year we have again been obliged to obtain all our import through the Friendship pipeline. In October and November it was possible to assure surplus amounts, in other words to make up for the amount of oil not coming through the Adria pipeline. But in the winter months, however, this is a very considerable lesson, but I think that in the coming period we will have to pursue a very active purchasing policy, paying a lot of attention also to the reserves.

[Merza] Is the Friendship pipeline in operation now? Is oil still coming through it?

[Berenyi] It is in operation now, it is operating completely normally. In November some 400,000 tonnes are expected to come through this pipeline.

[Merza] What is the oil reserve at present in Hungary?

[Berenyi] As far as I know it can be regarded as normal, considering the present circumstances [words indistinct] but I think that, compared to the capacities, this embraces only a part of the capacities...

[Merza, interrupting] You mean the storage capacities?

[Berenyi] Yes, the storage possibilities. So, the reserves could be increased from the aspect of the capacities.

[Merza] What will happen if after all it is not possible to obtain the oil from the Russian Republic? Because presumably the Adria pipeline will be unable to come into operation in the near future.

[Berenyi] Look, in the case of obtaining oil from the Russian Republic the question in the short term is by no means that it is altogether impossible. At the most it can be a question of a reduced quantity for a temporary period.

[Merza] But the reserves (?could run out).

[Berenyi] Now then, along this pipeline it is also possible to import crude oil whereby it is not Hungarian firms that purchase the crude oil but where the crude oil is of Russian origin, or Soviet origin, and where it has been purchased by, let us say, some Western firm. Well, we are ready to conduct imports of this kind as well, since the pipeline, from the point of view of capacity, provides a possibility for this.

[Merza] Would the oil not be dearer [word indistinct]?

[Berenyi] Naturally, since we have had and do have other purchasing possibilities as well. We have a considerable contract with Iran. It is another issue that because of the absence of the Adria pipeline it is only with various kinds of construction that we can solve its transport to our country. [passage omitted]

[Merza] Would the oil not be a bit dearer in this way?

[Berenyi] There is no doubt that it will be dearer, even if, let us say, the listed world market prices do not otherwise increase—although they could do so. The leader of our Moscow trade mission is in daily contact with our partners there. In the coming weeks we will try to clarify every specific detail with them. [end recording]

Barter Agreement Signed With Ukrainian Government

*LD1911024791 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—An agreement was reached recently to establish a Hungarian-Ukrainian barter agreement valued at 20 million dollars. Under its terms, Hungarian firms are to deliver prime consumer goods to the Ukraine in return for Ukrainian goods.

Hungarian Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa headed a delegation of financial specialists on a visit to Kiev, on invitation from the Ukrainian Government, and spoke with the Ukrainian minister of finance, minister of external economic relations, and Ukrainian national bank president. During the talks, the sides also made progress in simplifying border-zone traffic and turnover.

Kadar Expects EC Associate Membership Approval

*LD1911025891 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—Talks on the Hungarian EC associate membership should be concluded by this weekend, said Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar at a press conference today.

The originally planned signing of the Hungary-EC contract for last week was put off because EC members starting rehashing earlier issues thought to be settled, said Kadar about the talks last week in Brussels. These issues are not vital in themselves, Kadar said, but could have significant consequences in view of their number. Thus, Hungary wants to clarify the debated points to avoid accepting obligations it may be unable to fulfil, even if it means prolonging the talks.

Kadar also said 1992 will be an upward-moving period in Hungarian foreign trade development, with growths expected not only in exports to the West, but worldwide.

FKgP Parliamentary Faction Announces Split

AU1911092391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 16 Nov 91 p 4

[Report by Tibor Keri: "The Smallholders Faction Has Split in Two—Coalition: Decision in Antall's Hands"]

[Text] The following announcement was made after the 15 November meeting of the national leadership of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP].

As of 15 November, the following 17 representatives can be seen as the parliamentary representatives of the FKgP: Gyorgy Balogh, Vilmos Bereczki, Miklos Borcz, Jeno Gerbovits, Sandor Gyorivanyi, Mrs. Istvan Hajdu, Jozsef Istvan, Geza Ivan, Sandor Kavassy, Mrs. Jozsef Lakatos, Imre Sipos, Lajos Szabo, Imre Toth, Emese Ugrin, Vince Voros, Jozsef Torgyan, and Jozsef Faddi.

A letter to this effect was sent by party chairman Jozsef Torgyan to parliamentary speaker Gyorgy Szabad on 15 November (Torgyan had the authorization of his group). The letter also points out that only these 17 representatives are allowed to speak on behalf of the FKgP in parliament. Furthermore, the 17 representatives will shortly elect their own faction leader. However, following repeated questions from the journalists present at the news conference, the FKgP representatives were unable to say how many of these 17 parliamentary representatives had actually signed the statement recognizing the party leadership and its decisions. Indeed, it had transpired that not all 17 representatives had signed the document, but that several of them had only signalled their approval over the telephone or verbally.

The national leadership also decided that the previously excluded party members Miklos Omolnar, Sandor Olah, Istvan Prepeliczay, Geza Zsiros, Ferenc Jozsef Nagy, Istvan Pohankovics, and Pal Dragon, whose membership rights had been suspended, could not join the "new faction." However, if the excluded members cleared the investigations that had been launched against them, they could return to the group of representatives. At its 15 November meeting, the group launched disciplinary investigations against deputy chairman Pal Dragon and Antal Belafi Jr. because—according to the group—the two had instigated open rebellion in the party. As a result, both of them were suspended of their functions,

and Gyorgy Balogh and Miklos Somodi were voted into the leadership as deputy chairman and general secretary, respectively. The national leadership asked Sandor Gyarmati to act as chairman of the Bekes county branch of the FKgP. Geza Zsiros used to fill this position, but his membership rights have been suspended.

Asked by our correspondent whether there were any fears that Jozsef Antall might definitively turn his back on the Torgyan-led FKgP and that the coalition might dissolve thanks to the votes of the 28-30 representatives of the Historic Platform, Jozsef Istvan announced that the decision lay in the prime minister's hands. The FKgP will not start speculating.

FKgP Official Examines Crimes Against Society

AU191114491 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 15 Nov 91 p 9

[Interview with Tibor Hornyak, head of the Independent Smallholders Party's documentation center, by Gabor Rejto; place and date not given: "Hornyak: While We Were in the Water, We Could Not Criticize the Crocodile"]

[Excerpts] The documentation center is in a 16 square meter room. The head of the center told us that the documents are not stored in this building, but that there are six copies located in different places. Nevertheless, we were told that "true, loyal party members" were in charge of the work. At the end of our interview, Tibor Hornyak specifically asked us to note that in his opinion, Jozsef Torgyan was a radical but not extreme politician, and as such, he was a unique and irreplaceable figure in the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP]. [passage omitted]

[Rejto] What do you consider to be your task?

[Hornyak] The center only examines the past of those who have committed crimes against the people, strictly from a documentation point of view. We do not take anonymous letters or denunciations into account. We also look into the past of those who amassed such great fortunes that the remuneration for their services was clearly out of proportion. We examine those who have abused their power—for example, those who have actively contributed to our debts (which amount to billions of U.S. dollars) by borrowing and spending.

[Rejto] So I could call you the head of the FKgP's criminal investigation center.

[Hornyak] You could put it that way. We are doing this work so that national reconciliation can be achieved as soon as possible. We do it without being paid. In other words, those who send us documents should not hope for any financial rewards.

[Rejto] What happens to the documents?

[Hornyak] If we think we are dealing with a crime against the people, we hand over a photocopy of the documents to the relevant authorities.

[Rejto] What methods do you use in your research?

[Hornyak] We have already got hold of very effective documents in the past. I am the most radical person in Hungary in that I have always demanded and continue to demand that people account for the past—but not that they settle old scores. The 800,000 former party members can continue with their work in peace. A persecution of communists is out of the question. [passage omitted]

[Rejto] Mr. Hornyak, what punishments would you consider to be appropriate?

[Hornyak] Many people say: What can you do with such old people? It would not be nice, or Christian, to punish

them. Well, I would like to tell you and the rest of the country that Kis Mihaly Francia, with whom I shared a cell in 1957 (and who was 78 years old at the time, a twitching and totally unpredictable man,) was hanged in 1959 for the crimes he had committed in 1919. So I ask you, why should the war criminals of 4 November [1956] who betrayed the country not be called to account? War crimes never become obsolete!

[Rejto] Are you thinking about capital punishment just now?

[Hornyak] Yes. However, at the roundtable talks they made sure that Hungary would follow the example of western culture and abolish capital punishment, so we cannot talk about this. I would not be a cultured human being if I urged the reintroduction of capital punishment. [passage omitted]

Leaders Meet Croatian Foreign Minister Separovic

Skubiszewski Holds Talks

LD1811183891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] We already informed you that Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic is on a one-day visit to Poland. Minister Zvonimir Separovic and Krzysztof Skubiszewski, head of Polish diplomacy, met for 90 minutes this morning. During that meeting, a promise was made by the Polish side that, following the arrangement of certain formalities—that is, the dispatch of notes from Croatia—Poland would recognize Croatian passports as identification travel documents. Minister Zvonimir Separovic asked for the Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in Poland to be delegatized, justifying this by the fact that Yugoslavia does not exist as a state. There is no parliament, federal government, or president's office. The Croatian foreign minister will meet Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki later today.

Separovic Seeks 'Prompt Recognition'

LD1811231591 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Foreign Minister of Croatia Zvonimir Separovic expressed hope on Monday for a prompt recognition of Croatia's sovereignty by European countries.

Following his talks with Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki on Monday, Separovic opined that Europe was too slow to recognize his country's independence and hoped Poland would not be the last country to take such decision.

He added Croatia expected humanitarian assistance from Poland, mainly in medicines.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who met with Separovic earlier on Monday, said Poland's recognition of Croatia was only a matter of time and explained her stand on the Yugoslav conflict was clear and in line with the attitudes of other European countries.

"The action of the federal army is an act of aggression and it is not a purely internal conflict. We demand the international law to be fully observed, especially as concerns the protection of war victims," Skubiszewski said.

'Disquieting' Incident on Soviet Border Reported

LD1811204291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Disquieting news has been coming to us from the Medyka border crossing:

[Correspondent] There was a dangerous incident on the Soviet border last night at about 1730. This is a report by a driver of one of the Polish tour buses who was waiting for clearance at that time:

[Unidentified speaker] Everything started when the Romanians began placing logs under the Polish buses, to which the militia did not react; rather, they seemed to encourage the Romanians to block the Polish buses. One of the Poles came up to the militiamen to talk to them; well, he began shouting, so they attacked him with truncheons. The crowd began to move. One of the policemen pulled a gun and shot several times toward those who were shouting but into the air as a warning. The worried crowd withdrew and started throwing bottles at the militiamen. The militiamen threw the bottles back at the demonstrators, at the buses. They smashed a windshield on one of the buses [words indistinct] chasing these people they attacked my coach, smashed the windshields and hit me several times with truncheons. [passage omitted]

A militiaman came up to me and said: Give me your passport, give me your passport, give it or I'll shoot you. He pointed his gun at me. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It is worth noting that other witnesses said that a significant number of both the Polish and Romanian tourists, as well as the intervening Soviet guards, had clearly been under the influence of alcohol. Polish Consul Henryk Litwin came to the spot from Lvov. Unfortunately, we have been unable to contact our diplomatic mission in Lvov.

Foreign Ministry Responds

LD1811232791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced a resolute intervention in connection with the incident involving a group of Polish tourists who were beaten at the Shegynye border crossing on the Ukrainian side of the border. According to Polish tourists, a brutal attack on the passengers of several Polish coaches awaiting entry to Poland was perpetrated on Sunday evening. OMON [special purpose militia detachment] militia officers beat passengers inside the coaches, or else after dragging them outside. Six persons, including one woman, were beaten with truncheons. Several coaches were damaged. The militiamen also used firearms, shooting into the air.

Russia Confirms No Reduction in Oil Supply

LD1911073191 Warsaw PAP in English 1821 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Russia has confirmed previous statement by Russian deputy minister of foreign trade Osadchuk that it would not reduce oil supplies for Poland, Boleslaw Krawczyk of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations said on Monday.

The recent limitations on exports of Russian oil apply only to trade among the Soviet republics and the running contracts with Poland remain untouched.

Polish-Russian talks on oil trade will start in Warsaw next Monday.

Prime Minister Candidate Not Expected 'Soon'

LD1911042101 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT
18 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski hinted Monday evening that it should not be expected that a candidate for the office of prime minister would be named soon.

Drzycimski said in a special press release that the Polish Constitution envisaged a period of three months for the forming of the cabinet and stressed "This time was an occasion to compose a government enjoying the Parliament's support."

The presidential spokesman opined the most urgent thing in the present situation was to inaugurate the work of the parliament. "Both chambers of the parliament can introduce changes advocated by the main political forces, and they should create conditions for an efficiently functioning government of parliamentary majority," he said.

Drzycimski pointed out further that the present government was working and realizing the main directions of the state policy, and recalled that the current Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was the politician who won the biggest number of votes in the recent parliamentary elections.

The spokesman for the president also announced that Lech Walesa asked Monday head of presidential office Mieczyslaw Wachowski to conduct consultations with representatives of five centre-right parties on the formation of a new government.

Walesa, Kaczynski 'Quarrel' Over Candidate

AU1811194391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 14 Nov 91 p 2

[Unsigned report: "Kaczynski Versus Walesa"]

[Text] GAZETA has learned from well-informed sources that the immediate reason for the 12 November breakdown in negotiations between the "three" (the Democratic Union, Center Accord, and Liberal Democratic Congress) at the Belvedere was an argument that erupted between President Walesa and Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of the Center Accord, and not programmatic differences—the reason given by Jacek Maziarz on television.

Lech Walesa opened the meeting by saying that there were two candidates for the post of prime minister, and the first of them was Bronislaw Geremek (Jan Krzysztof

Bielecki was not mentioned at this point). He then asked the participants for their opinion. Jaroslaw Kaczynski responded that Jan Olszewski remains the only possible candidate for the Center Accord because, among other things, he is the only candidate who could guarantee that decomunization be carried out.

At that point, the president fiercely attacked Kaczynski, accusing him of, among other things, constantly talking about decomunization while having failed to even institute decomunization in the Presidential Chancellery when he headed it.

The president also accused Kaczynski of refusing to appreciate the nature of the situation in which the president finds himself.

Then the discussion between Kaczynski and the president increasingly began to resemble a violent argument, with both sides even making threats of a personal kind. At some point, Jaroslaw Kaczynski got up and left the hall, to be followed by Jacek Maziarz shortly afterwards.

According to our information, the quarrel between Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Lech Walesa dominated the meeting. The only substantive aspect of the discussion was Jaroslaw Kaczynski's statement that the Center Accord interprets the results of the elections differently than the Democratic Union. This came as a surprise to Geremek, who maintained that all three parties should see the election results as signifying defeat.

Asked to give his version of events, Jacek Maziarz told GAZETA on the morning of 13 November that profound programmatic differences were the reason for the breakdown of the negotiations. He declined to give any details.

After Kaczynski had walked out, President Walesa asked Donald Tusk, the leader of the liberals, to return to the hall, but Kaczynski adamantly refused.

An attempt at mediation by Kuron, who arranged a meeting with Jan Olszewski over the telephone, also failed, because Olszewski left the headquarters of the Center Accord shortly before the meeting was to take place.

According to our source, the personal conflict between Lech Walesa and Jaroslaw Kaczynski runs very deep. It is also known from other sources that the president is opposed to Jan Olszewski being a candidate for the premiership and believes that it would be difficult for them to cooperate ("I remember how he tried to form a government a year ago"—is what the president is supposed to have said). "Walesa now has a grudge against Kaczynski and Olszewski," said another politician, who wished to remain anonymous.

Apparently, the decision—which came in the afternoon—to make it officially known that the president

would propose Geremek as candidate for premiership to the Sejm was made "impulsively" in the wake of the argument with Kaczynski.

Coalition Proposes Chrzanowski for Sejm Speaker
*LD1911042891 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Following the fifth round of consultations held here on Monday, representatives of the five centre-right parties proposed Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, 68, leader of the Christian Democratic Union (ZCHN) for speaker of the Sejm (lower house of the Parliament).

In a statement issued after a three-hour discussion the "five" declared that the decision whether to entrust Jan Olszewski, 61, a lawyer, with the mission to form a cabinet now rests with the president alone.

However, leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) Donald Tusk said "It is impossible to build a new government against the will of the president" and suggested to "think of other options that would not lead to open conflict of the five with Lech Walesa."

The five groupings in the debating coalition are: the Centre Alliance (PC), the ZCHN, KLD, the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) and the Peasant Agreement (PL).

The meeting which focused on the most urgent tasks of the newly elected Parliament, decided that it is necessary to build a broad parliamentary majority to support the so-called "small constitution" designed to regulate relations between the legislative and executive organs of the state.

With this aim in view, the "five" hope to win support of the Democratic Union (UD). Donald Tusk declared he would be ready to seek contacts with UD if the five fail to reach full unanimity on this point. Jozef Slisz of Peasant Agreement told newsmen other groupings might also be taken into account in building a broad parliamentary majority of two thirds, or 306 votes in the 460-seat parliament.

The Democratic Union does not rule out the possibility of consulting the five about the "small constitution." UD Deputy Secretary General Michal Ujazdowski announced, however, that his party would present its own draft of the "small constitution" aimed at "consolidating the executive power."

The five will conduct further consultations in three problem groups: for the Sejm (lower house) bodies—the Sejm presidium and committees, for the economic programme and for the small constitution.

During their Monday meeting representatives of the "five" endeavoured several times to reach Walesa by phone, all in vain. After one of such futile attempts Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Jacek MaziarSKI, leaders of the

Centre Alliance (PC) which is the spiritus movens of the five party coalition left the meeting 30 minutes before it wound up.

Geremek Discusses Failed Bid To Forge Coalition
*AU1811204191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 15 Nov 91 p 3*

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Club, by Ewa Milewicz; place and date not given: "Negotiations, Coalitions, Loyalty"]

[Text] [Milewicz] One politician recently said that the president would be able to phone a Prime Minister Bielecki or a Prime Minister Geremek (the implication being that he would also call the shots), but he would not be able to behave in the same way with Jan Olszewski. So, would President Walesa be able to phone you?

[Geremek] Yes, he would. Mr. Lech Walesa knows me and knows that I have always been one of those people who can say "no" to him and who speaks the truth.

I think that it would be a good thing if all the candidates for the prime ministership were able to say that about themselves. The president could count on my acting in line with the Constitution and, at the same time, on my being loyal toward him.

[Milewicz] How could you envisage a coalition between five groupings that differ as much as the Democratic Union, the Center Accord, the Christian National Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland?

[Geremek] I cannot envisage that. I thought of a coalition involving three parties (the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Center Accord). I would have asked other groupings to support that coalition.

[Milewicz] So, was the Democratic Union closer to the Center Accord than to the Confederation for an Independent Poland?

[Geremek] I was counting on the Democratic Union, Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Center Accord being able to reach agreement on the implementation of an economic program, which would have given the government a chance of surviving when Parliament came to debate the budget, privatization, or joining European institutions. In any event, a coalition of those three parties was not based around my personal predilections.

[Milewicz] You said that there were no differences on programmatic points between the Democratic Union and the Center Accord, but what about decommunization?

[Geremek] We did not talk about that. I think that decommunization is a matter of verbal rhetoric to a large

extent. The Tadeusz Mazowiecki government began decommunization, and it should be continued.

The only difference between the Democratic Union and the Center Accord that representatives of the Center Accord drew attention to concerned different interpretations of the social significance of the election results.

[Milewicz] What do you mean by that?

[Geremek] The Center Accord said that it was not possible to continue with the current policy course, because that would run counter to the will of the electorate. I pointed out that the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Center Accord had all lost in some sense. If there were any winners in the elections, then they were the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the Alliance of the Democratic Left.

[Milewicz] Why was the Liberal Democratic Congress rather ambiguous about supporting you?

[Geremek] Late in the evening of 12 November, Mr. Donald Tusk told me that the Liberal Democratic Congress rejected the idea of entering a five party coalition put together by the Center Accord, both now and in the future.

As we know, the very next day the Liberal Democratic Congress accepted a coalition of precisely that kind. However, after that, the media was my sole source of information on further U-turns on the part of the leaders of the Liberal Democratic Congress.

[Milewicz] So, whose votes were your really banking on? Could you have counted on getting the votes in the Sejm of, for example, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Christian-National Union, and the Center Accord?

[Geremek] These parties made it clear that they had a negative attitude toward me and toward my mission. I could also have mentioned the differences between my economic reform program, or my conception of a social model for Poland and those groupings' program. I did not talk about that.

Representatives of some of the parties that you mentioned told me that they could envisage voting for my government. However, I did not hold any negotiations on securing votes for the appointment of my government. I was primarily concerned about finding support for the government at a later date, that is, when the budget or constitutional amendments come up for consideration.

[Milewicz] Why did you give up straightaway? What were you actually hoping for?

[Geremek] I had very good talks with all the groupings, with both those that I like and those that I do not care for. The talks were business-like—that was my impression—and there was a feeling of trust about them. All the

persons that I spoke to had the same view of the gravity of the situation in which we find ourselves.

My impression was that a pragmatic dialogue, free of any elements of ideological conflict, was possible. That is how I sought to pursue the talks.

Party Leaders Discuss Political Concepts

AU1811203791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 15 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Ewa K. Czaczowska report: "Continuation, Breakthrough, Decommunization"]

[Text] Continuation, breakthrough, decommunization—these terms have appeared on the lips of politicians very frequently in recent times. But what do they mean? We asked representatives of seven political groups: the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD], Civic Center Accord [POC], Christian-National Union [ZChN], Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN], People's Accord, and Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

The views of those politicians belonging to the five groups that have resolved to form a center-right-wing government were convergent in many cases. Sejm Deputy Marek Jurek of the ZChN said that, generally speaking, continuation means a continuation of the reforms aimed at establishing a law-governed democracy in Poland. For KPN leader Leszek Moczulski, continuation also means "rejecting the totalitarian state, command economy, irregularities in public life, and a foreign policy dictated from outside."

According to Deputy Jozef Orzel, the POC wishes to continue nothing apart from privatization, which, however, should be faster. To the KLD, continuation in the sphere of economic policy also means a stable currency, efficient banking and credits system, and an anti-inflation policy.

The POC, ZChN, and KPN are all in favor of decommunization, to which the KPN adds the label "nonideological," meaning a settlement of scores. To the POC, decommunization means two things—banning people guilty of mismanagement during the People's Republic from holding state posts, and investigating the assets of the former nomenklatura. "It is not just social justice we are concerned with, but also equal chances for enterprising people. A free market and capitalism cannot be built by red capitalists," says J. Orzel.

According to the ZChN, decommunization means a new cadres policy, for only new social forces are capable of carrying out reforms in Poland. "People have to answer for their political past," said Deputy Jurek. "We must dispense with the absurd view that it is also possible to serve Poland by supporting those who brought it to ruin. Those who were connected with communism must go."

The KPN is opposed to any kind of collective responsibility. Leszek Moczulski believes everyone who held

public office must account for his career, and if he committed any misdemeanors, he must suffer the legal consequences.

The KLD reckons that the slogan "decommunization" was invented by POC, who failed to specify what it was supposed to mean. The KLD dislikes slogans that merely antagonize society. "Anything aimed at excluding certain people from public life is alien to the concept of a democratic state," said Włodzimierz Retelski. "Of course, that does not mean we support the nomenklatura and approve of the companies it has set up. But illegal activity must be punished more severely than has been the case so far."

The PSL also believes that whoever broke the law must be punished, whether he was a communist, postcommunist, or anyone else, provided the legal violation is proven in court. Any other form of decommunization may cause "more harm than good," says Aleksander Luczak.

Different parties also interpret "breakthrough" in different ways. To the KLD, it means democratic elections, thanks to which any action by Parliament, and consequently by the government, is legitimate. "The new government will now be able to legitimately tackle things the previous government could not or would not do," says W. Retelski.

To the POC, a breakthrough, in the ideological sense, means a more partial attitude toward the church. The ZChN considers this problem a fundamental one. "We need to openly admit that we profess Christian values, and we must adhere to these values in private and public life" says M. Jurek. "Our adversaries have no inhibitions about professing the principles of laity. Polish Catholicism must be defended just as boldly."

In economic policy, "breakthrough," according to POC, means faster universal privatization, a uniform taxation policy vis-a-vis the state and private sectors, a consistent credits policy vis-a-vis agriculture, and a more stable customs policy. "This boils down to the creation of more difficult but stable conditions for enterprises to exist, so that they may plan for the future," says J. Orzel.

The KLD, ZChN, and KPN all want a faster and more energetic privatization, but the KPN thinks that privatization should be interrupted for the time being and the state treasury appointed as the official receiver of all state assets, until clear rules of privatization have been drawn up. Then the privatization could proceed. According to the KLD, privatization is the key to a better economy. To the People's Accord, a breakthrough in the economy means a battle against recession, fought in such a way that there is no return to inflation.

To the KPN, a breakthrough in domestic politics includes "making people in public office fully responsible for their actions once again." In foreign policy, however, it means "an integration of efforts by countries situated 'between the two seas' for the sake of an openness to the West." Deputy Jurek said that according to the ZChN, one must always view Poland's relations with the east, west, and European Communities in terms of one's own interests.

Democratic Union General Secretary Piotr Nowina-Konopka says that in the Union's opinion, continuation means a further transformation of state structures left over from the communist system into democratic structures, a stepped-up struggle against crime, an abandoning of the principle of collective responsibility, a continuation of the process of healing the zloty, and an opening of Poland to the world. Asked what he understands by the terms breakthrough and decommunization, Nowina-Konopka replied: "You had better ask those who invented them."

Iliescu Chairs Supreme Defense Council Meeting
AU1611143891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
 1922 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/91—The meeting of the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country was held under the chairmanship of Romania's president Ion Iliescu on Friday, November 15.

The participants analyzed and approved the draft decree concerning the submission to Parliament for ratification of the Prague Protocol of July 1, 1991 regarding the cease of validity of the Warsaw Treaty of May 14, 1955, of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe signed in Paris on November 19, 1990 and of the convention in connection with this treaty signed in Budapest on November 3, 1990.

The Council approved the report and proposals made by the interior minister concerning the protection of highly important objectives. They also approved the proposals in connection with the organization and functioning of the protection and guard department in keeping with the provisions of the national security law.

The director of the Romanian Intelligence Service read a report on the specific activities of that service over 1990-1991.

To eliminate speculations, the Romanian Intelligence Service put under seal the archives of the Securitate Service and submitted to the Parliament a bill to stipulate the interdiction of access to those documents for forty years.

The Romanian Intelligence Service will analyze and clarify together with the foreign diplomatic representations in Bucharest the aspects concerning the suspicions of certain embassies in connection with the actions having been taken by the Securitate Service in the headquarters or dwellings of the diplomatic personnel.

Information papers were also presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in connection with certain problems resulted from the proceedings of the ministerial meeting in Brussels of the Group of 24 and of the Rome meeting of the heads of state and government in NATO-member countries, and by the chief of staff in connection with the proceedings of the second seminar on military doctrines held in Vienna over October 8-18, 1991.

Iliescu Remains 'Classic Type of Communist'

AU1511100891 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
 in Romanian 12 Nov 91 p 1

[Florin Gabriel Marculescu article: "Guilty Silence"]

[Text] If he had been pleased with the limited prerogatives of mainly a representational nature that were bestowed on him by the electoral law, the press would

perhaps not have granted Mr. Iliescu such great attention. Certainly, we are referring to that "unruly" press that does not accept renouncing freedom of thought and opinion. However, a thirst for power consumed him from an early age and deformed his structure. There is no doubt that he was also marked by this thirst for power during the long period he had to wait in the wings. So, once his dream came true, President Iliescu completely lost his self-control and threw himself into the tournament of absolutism without taking into account the fact that that bloody December forced the stage manager to carry out certain modifications to the classical setting of communist monolithism.

He should have had a certain subtlety of language and a minimum ability to adapt, both of which are conditioned by the ability of political thinking to face certain untypical situations. But, our character has reached an age when such flexibility can no longer be expected. Thus, he continued to act within an outdated activism, using without discrimination the arsenal of a past political system. "Iliescu basically is and will remain a classic type of communist who instinctively resorts to lies and ill-faith and who believes that, in this way, he can trick the public or can confront it—no matter which, because he is completely indifferent to it." These are the words of the writer and arts critic Alexandru Paleologu, who, in his capacity as Romania's ambassador to France in the post-revolutionary period, had an opportunity to tell the president the truth to his face. Therefore, it should not surprise us that Ion Iliescu resorted to the dirtiest methods to consolidate and expand his power. Taking advantage of the latest descent of the miners on Bucharest, he tried to shrug off the penal responsibility that has burdened him for the horrors of the events of June 1990. This was a useless and deplorable attempt. The facts are too well known and documented, there is an abundance of testimony, and he himself proved his guilt. What was the position adopted by the president then, immediately after the miners' descent? He preferred a brief period of eclipse and a silence punctuated from time to time by confused and mainly inadequate statements.

Afterwards, the signing of the treaty of "friendship" with the USSR followed—a document through which Iliescu was selling the country to our great Eastern neighbor for another 15-year period. This was—why should we shrink from saying so—the price he paid for the support the Kremlin granted him. Only a hazardous turn of events stopped this humiliating accord from having serious consequences. Did Iliescu answer the wave of protests stirred by his own betrayal? No way. He withdrew into the deep silence that we are used to whenever he is caught in the act or, better said, whenever he is caught tripping.

Recently, Iliescu also interfered in his characteristically crude way in the issue of agriculture, because he was worried about the prospect that this area would slip away from the network of communist structures. One part of the press reacted again promptly, sanctioning both his style and the irresponsible nature of the action itself. Has

the president reacted? God forbid! He withdrew into his shell of silence, believing it a better move than providing any explanations. The president himself said it: It does not fit the dignity of the institution of the presidency to descend to the level of peripheral discussions—as if he himself were not the subject of the accusations in question. He broke his golden silence only once. He did so by means of a communique that his press bureau hastened to issue at the beginning of October and to which we also hastened to reply, making our smiling president face (and how many times so far?) terribly uncomfortable truths. This happened on 15 October. Almost a month has elapsed since then. The president resumed his good habit of keeping silent—an obstinate, somber, and ultimately an accusing silence. We believed that he would not ignore the fact that silence, in fact, means acceptance. "Qui tacet non negat" (he who keeps silent does not deny) as the well known saying teaches us with universal applicability. The opposite interpretation of silence is encountered only in the religious law of the Middle Ages, and that in no way can be taken as an example. Thus, by keeping silent, the president admits his guilt. And so, he is left with only one honorable solution: resignation. We advised him as early as last December to make this move, and we wish to remind him that, for incomparably lesser accusations, a former U.S. president, Nixon, or in our Balkan region, Bulgaria's Mladenov, thought that it was right to do so. We could provide other examples too. Ion Iliescu deliberately omits this type of reaction imposed by the political game of democracy, and he certainly has no intention to follow the example of the aforementioned figures. Nevertheless, true to his communist concepts, he is always ready to resort to bullets—as he did in September as well—to silence those who contest him.

Therefore, we have only one question: How long will he resist at the top of the pyramid? His errors are so big, the moral and material losses that he has foisted on the country so serious, and the barrage of gaffes so great that it cannot be excluded that his own acolytes will be interested in removing him. The Securitate might abandon him without remorse, because it is disappointed in a product that is not able to develop, with ability and discreetly, what the hidden forces require in the complicated political game that they are currently playing. We believe that Ion Iliescu has become a burden, even for his own allies. Certainly, what we are saying only has the value of a hypothesis. Nevertheless, President Iliescu's guilt is one of the few things that we are certain about, and it explains the increasing incoherence of presidential actions. We are talking about a guilt that is hidden in a shell of silence.

UDMR's Domokos Assesses Budapest Visit

*AU1711150191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 14 Nov 91 p 3*

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Tibor Bogdan: "UDMR Chairman Issues Statement—Improving Relations With Romanian Parties"]

[Text] The greatest problem is that there is no dialogue today between Romania and Hungary, and thus the political arena is left to the extremist and nationalist forces, and to circles that do not want the settling of bilateral relations, for one reason or another—Geza Domokos, head of the delegation of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], told us shortly after the delegation returned from a visit in Budapest.

According to Geza Domokos, the first official visit to Hungary of this body led by him was successful. A simultaneous Hungarian and Romanian-Hungarian dialogue took place, because the UDMR is part of the Romanian political life and is also bound to the Romanian realities. An improvement in bilateral relations as soon as possible would be extremely important for the Hungarians living in Romania because this could also have a positive effect on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

Geza Domokos also expressed his pleasure that they succeeded in dispersing the concern of their hosts about alleged conflicts within the UDMR leadership that could lead to a split, a concern that also prevails among the Hungarians in Romania. Geza Domokos said that, although there were differences of views between some members of the delegation during the current visit, all this appeared as a sign of complementary agreement. [sentence as published] Geza Domokos also regarded as important the starting of high-level presidential or prime ministerial talks and expressed his pleasure over the fact that, although not quite adequate, major parties in Hungary have improved contacts with the political parties in Romania.

Senate Leader on Hungarian Ties, Minority Issues

*AU1811151591 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 14 Nov 91 p 3*

[Interview with Deputy Senate President Vasile Mois, by Lajos Sike; place and date not given: "Hungary Is Dealing With the National Minority Issue According to European Standards"]

[Excerpts] [Sike] Mr. Mois! Eastern and Central Europe are full of national minority problems. Take the example of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union where events are also causing trouble for other countries and for the entire region. In your opinion, did the parliamentary debate on the report on Harghita and Covasna counties serve this country well in this situation, a debate that we call the Szeklers' trial? Particularly in view of the fact that the trial of communism has not yet been carried out in Romania, and we still do not know who killed hundreds of young people during the revolution in 1989. After two years, we still do not know who was shooting then!

[Mois] The national minority problem is a global problem, not only the problem of Eastern and Central Europe. Speaking of Europe, I could mention England,

France, Spain, or Italy, too, where national minorities are struggling for their rights. [passage omitted]

My opinion is that we cannot simply skip certain steps. Traditional democracies solved the national minority issue in time. However, with the exception of Hungary, no other country in Eastern Europe has succeeded in dealing with this problem according to European standards. I appreciate the fact that the Hungarian legislature has caught up with European standards. The Hungarian Constitution does not concentrate on national minorities and does not stipulate special rights for them, but deals with them like with any citizen, including giving them all the rights and obligations of any Hungarian citizen, and I say this is the right thing to do. However, due to certain traditions and a specific situation, this issue is discussed in an entirely different way in Romania, and not exactly in the correct way. Our Constitution stipulates that an ethnic group can have a representative in Parliament, even if it is unable to win a single seat during the elections. I do not know of any other country that stipulates this in its Constitution! Some say that this is a very democratic feature, and others think that this leads to sensitive debates. A lot of criticism is directed against this because, in other countries, it is clearly stipulated that a party can only get into Parliament if it wins a certain percentage of the votes.

As for the parliamentary report on Harghita and Covasna counties, my personal opinion is the following: If serious things took place here—and they did, because I give moral credit to those who prepared this report—this is the affair of the justice administration, rather than that of the Parliament, in a constitutional state. The perpetrators of the crimes committed in these counties should have been treated as common criminals and sent to a court trial. Thus, a mistake was made in this case, because the Parliament debate provided free advertisement for legal criminals. Unfortunately, we cannot yet talk of a full constitutional state in Romania and, therefore, our Parliament had to take the risk and examine the events that took place in the aforementioned two counties. You mentioned the Szeklers' trial, but this is an exaggeration because the report does not blame the entire population, but only lists the crimes committed by individual persons in Harghita and Covasna. We cannot blame all the Szeklers or Hungarians, the majority of whom behave according to European norms and are loyal citizens of this country. [passage omitted]

[Sike] You were in Strasbourg recently, as head of the Romanian parliamentary group. Upon your return, on the basis of negotiations held in the Council of Europe, you stressed that the national minority issue should be treated very calmly, because it has become a destabilizing factor in Europe. Do you think this is how this issue is treated in Romania?

[Mois] This is a magic question. The way the national minority issue is solved in Europe is less known in Romania. Today's Europe is not advancing toward autonomization or regional division. The issue is how to

preserve linguistic, cultural, and religious identity. One cannot be deprived of the language one heard first in his cradle; but we can expect him to know the state language well, and we can even demand this! I think we can only adequately clarify the national minority situation in Romania if we separate this issue from preconceptions. The Hungarians here are Romanian citizens with the same rights and obligations as the Romanians. The Hungarians here should be given the possibility to preserve their linguistic, cultural, and religious identity. For all this, they owe loyalty to the state, and they must respect the state's independence, sovereignty, unity, and official language. If both sides observe these basic principles, relations can be easily settled according to the European norms. The administration of justice and public administration are carried out in the official language in every country. [passage omitted]

[Sike] Do you think that the two parliaments could do more for the two nations' rapprochement?

[Mois] They could do more! Unfortunately, the contacts are rather weak, and the two parliaments should initiate more. Perhaps we are now in such a stage: A parliamentary delegation led by Senator Dumitru Căleanu visited Budapest recently, and we are expecting the visit of a Hungarian parliamentary delegation at the beginning of December.... These meetings should be taken seriously! [passage omitted]

'Territorial Dispute' With Ukraine Viewed

*AU1911112891 Bucharest DREPTATEA
in Romanian 12-13 Nov 91 p 1*

[Ilie Paunescu article: "Territorial Dispute With the Ukraine"]

[Text] On 1 December, the population of the Ukraine is called upon to decide on the country's independence.

Today the population of the republic also incorporates the residents of ancient Romanian lands—Bessarabians from the south and north of the province and Bukovinians from the areas annexed by the USSR in 1940. It is not within their competence to have their say on certain Ukrainian problems, but only on certain Romanian ones. The Bessarabians and Bukovinians have to decide—as soon as possible and in complete freedom—on their return within Romania's borders and not on the independence of the Ukraine.

Our government is expecting the visit of the Ukrainian foreign minister, Mr. Anatoliy Zlenko, at the end of the current month. As reported by DREPTATEA, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase recently revealed that one of the objectives of the current regime is to begin negotiations with the government in Kiev in connection with returning Northern Bukovina and the Bessarabian counties, which were annexed in an artificial way by the Soviet Union to the Ukraine Republic. Unfortunately, our current government does not see any urgency in Bessarabia's return to the motherland, nor

does it pay due attention to steps aimed at solving the territorial dispute with the Ukraine.

However, making the Romanian point of view known cannot be postponed.

The legitimate border of the Ukraine should not go beyond the borderline that separated Romania from the Soviet Union in June 1940, before Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were taken away from us on the basis of the secret Ribbentrop-Molotov protocol. All subsequent arbitrary delimitations of Romanian territories within the USSR pursued imperialist aims that the Ukraine—through its desire for independence—condemns. From both a moral viewpoint and from the viewpoint of international law, it would be intolerable for the Ukraine to negate the principles on which its proclamation of independence is based when these principles are applied to other areas and populations that were victims of the same tyranny Kiev is denouncing today. The fact that the territories and residents under discussion were ceded to it by Stalin as a result of one of his crimes would aggravate even more a possible unfair attitude by Ukrainian officials.

On the eve of Mr. Anatoliy Zlenko's arrival in Bucharest, it is important for the government of which he is a member to take note of the position held by the most significant part of the Romanian public on the problem of the provinces taken by force by the USSR in the middle of 1940. To ask a population in an area that belongs to these provinces to decide on a strictly Ukrainian problem—the country's independence—means to officially try to sanction—unilaterally and abusively—the consequences of the ignoble understanding signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov.

The Romanian Government is duty-bound to inform the whole country—with all the necessary details, that is by specifying all the nuances that are so important under such circumstances—what its policy in connection with this question of supreme national interest is.

The Ukrainian side is asked to take note of the fact that the Romanian public expects the referendum on 1 December 1991 not to be held in the Romanian territories that are today—formally, but illegally—part of the Ukrainian Republic.

Group Protests Ukraine Incorporation of Lands

AU1611150791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1041 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/1/1991—During a meeting organized in the Revolution Square in Bucharest on Friday, November 15, by the "Bucuresti-Chisinau" Cultural Society, Mr. Gheorghe Gavrila Copil, chairman of the society, handed over to journalists a solemn declaration that takes stand vis-a-vis the referendum on independence of December 1, 1991 in the Republic of Ukraine.

The declaration shows, inter alia, that the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, including the Romanian territories of northern Bukovina and Hertza, the County of Hotin and counties in southern Bessarabia, would mean a perpetuation of a clause under the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and of the ultimatum imposed on Romania in 1940. The parties and associations signatory to the declaration recognize Ukraine's right to hold a referendum but note that that runs counter to the international convention on the organization of such actions in the abusively annexed territories that have never been a part of that republic. Consequently, the president, the Parliament and the Government of Romania are requested to urgently undertake actions at the United Nations and with the Republic of Ukraine resorting to the Helsinki Final Act as concerns the possibility of changing frontiers by peaceful means.

The solemn declaration was signed by representatives of associations and parties including the Civic Alliance Party, the National Liberal Party, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the Romanian Social Democratic Party, the "Bucuresti-Chisinau" Cultural Society and the World Union of Free Romanians.

Oil Deliveries To Repay Part of Libya's Debts

AU1811165491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1438 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1991—The "Brega" oil exporting company of Tripoli will deliver 85,000 tonnes of crude worth roughly 16 million dollars to Romania as part of Libya's debts. The oil is to reach Romania before November 20, 1991. The worth of the deliveries will be settled in the accounts of the Romanian enterprises "Arcom" and "Contraximex," which performed construction works in Libya, and, partially, in the account of "Romtehnica."

The Romanian Embassy in Tripoli will undertake demarches with the Libyan Oil Ministry for further deliveries of fuel oil and crude to pay for outstanding debts.

Progress at Cernavoda Nuclear Power Plant Viewed

AU1811165091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0939 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/11/1991—Romania has been crossing an acute power crisis for a few years. The national power grid has 22,000 MW generating capacity, but can only use one third of it, and Romania is consequently compelled to import between 500 and 1,000 MW yearly, at a cost of 51 dollars for one kw/hour. The completion of the Cernavoda nuclear power station, with a 3,000 MW final capacity, would solve the power crisis in Romania. That is a dream which will become true when unit one, with a 700 MW capacity starts working. 90 percent of the unit was built, 60 percent of the mechanical part and 25 percent of the electrical part.

Pre-operational tests are planned for 1993, and the station is scheduled to start to work in 1994, 14 years after its building started.

The station poses, of course, a certain risk, but it is insignificant. Twenty such nuclear power stations were built and are operating in the world, after the Candu-600 system (in Argentina, Canada, South Korea, India and Pakistan), and no mortal or radioactive accident has been reported so far. Such a station poses a minimum risk, as 99 percent of the radioactive release lingers in the reactor's operational zone.

The building is impressive. Immense halls, bridges, pipes and the current generator lie under a steel and concrete cupola, 50 meter high and with a diameter of 45 meters. 500 tonnes of heavy water are necessary, produced in Romania in cooperation with the firm "Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd" and the Italian Firm "Ansaldo Impianti." The first quantities of heavy water have already been produced, with adequate quality parameters.

Romanian experts rejected for many years offers by the Russians to build a nuclear station in Romania, as their model, as proved by Chernobyl, does not ensure protection good enough. As steel-concrete protection covers are missing among other things. The exploitation security of the Cernavoda station is given not only by the Candu system but also by detail measures, starting with protection equipment for the staff and the protection of the environment, and ending with the place where radioactive scraps will be stored during the 30 years the station is planned to function, namely an abandoned mine.

The option for building this nuclear station after a Canadian model was well grounded since works started, in 1978. The Candu-600 system has at present the highest degree of security in the world, as it has two independent systems to stop operations in case of accident, an advanced cooling system, a general cover system. Candu-600 is antiseismic and protected against other casualties, such as fire or explosions in the neighbouring area and air crashes.

When completed, the Cernavoda station will have five units of 700 MW each, for the building of which 400 billion lei will be spent. In 1991, the Canadian Government approved 315 million dollars worth of a credit, the Italian Government 170 billion Italian lira and the Romanian Government 95 billion lei to continue works. Unit two was planned to be ready in 1996, unit three in 1997, unit four in 1998 and unit five in 1999.

The distribution of tasks is a guarantee that terms will be observed. The AAC Consortium will be the general manager, on behalf of the national public power corporation "Renel." It is also in charge of operating unit one for eighteen months and of training the Romanian staff that will operate unit one, and experts for the units to come. "Renel" has the duty to ensure necessary funds, hard currency included. It will also supervise the AAC Consortium. The Romanian party will equally ensure nuclear fuel, for which sources exist in Romania. At the moment a stock has been made of 586 tonnes of nuclear fuel and 40 tonnes of heavy water.

International

Vance, UN Envoy Hold Meetings With Leaders

View Peace Force With Milosevic

LD1811161191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, and Mark Goulding, an undersecretary in the United Nations, and their aides.

A statement issued on this occasion says: "In the course of lengthy and open talks, a number of issues were discussed relating to the idea of sending UN peacekeeping forces (to Yugoslavia). It was stressed that the UN peacekeeping forces should provide full protection and guarantee security and freedom for the Serbian nation in the Krajinas. Only in such conditions will it be possible to hold successful negotiations on achieving a lasting, peaceful, and just solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Attention was drawn to the need to maintain the current cease-fire and to involve the UN peacekeeping forces as an efficient instrument for guaranteeing peace. The talks were also attended by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

Milosevic Says Talks Successful

AU1811153891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by Belgrade TV correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic in Belgrade on 18 November—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Comrade President, could we hear you comment on the meeting with Mr. Vance. What is your assessment of the talks?

[Milosevic] I think that the talks were very successful. There is no doubt that the United Nations, which Cyrus Vance represents, has the best intentions of establishing peace in Yugoslavia as soon as possible. As is well-known, the idea of sending a peacemaking force, which should separate the warring sides, is a good idea, and I think that it could lead to a lasting and just peace in Yugoslavia.

[Jevdjovic] What do you currently see as the main problem in the talks on deploying the blue helmets along the line of demarcation?

[Milosevic] It is obvious that the most important problem is to get the Croatian side, which has been constantly attacking the Serbian regions in Croatia, to accept the deployment of such forces, that is to say, to reconcile itself with the fact that the Serbian people who live there have the right to be free and to feel safe, to be protected from the attacks they have suffered from the Croatian authorities in the past months.

[Jevdjovic] Mr. President, allow me to ask you whether you have perhaps talked about the demarcation line, the line of separation.

[Milosevic] It is obvious that we need to define the territory which the UN forces will protect. This question is the precondition for the deployment of these forces. Therefore, this is an absolutely unavoidable question.

[Jevdjovic] Mr. Vance said that some progress has been made. Do you think that it was made, and if this the case, in what sense?

[Milosevic] I absolutely share the view of Cyrus Vance that a major step forward has been made. We virtually expect all sides in the conflict to accept such a move, because no one can deny the fact that establishing peace is in the interest of all who live in Yugoslavia. For that reason we will fully support these ideas.

[Jevdjovic] And you will meet again during this mission.

[Milosevic] I expect to meet again with Cyrus Vance and his assistants this week.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you.

[Milosevic] Thank you.

Discuss Deployment With Kadijevic

LD1811180291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, today met Cyrus Vance, personal envoy of the UN secretary general, and Marc Goulding, under secretary for UN peacekeeping forces, and aides. The talks discussed necessary presuppositions for deciding to deploy UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia and their possible tasks, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense information service revealed.

View Cease-Fire With Markovic

LD1811233691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2111 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The basic condition for the possible sending of UN peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia is the establishment of a stable cease-fire. This was stressed this evening by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and Cyrus Vance, personal envoy of the UN secretary general during their one-hour talk in the Palace of the Federation. The talks were also attended by UN Undersecretary Marc Goulding.

As TANJUG has learned from the FEC president's office, this evening's talks focused on the current situation in Yugoslavia and on efforts to establish a cease-fire. As had been expected, they paid particular attention to the possibility of sending UN peacekeeping forces to

Yugoslavia. They exchanged views on the practical possibility of these forces coming to Yugoslavia and the place of their deployment, i.e. the positions they should take, and other elements in connection with the arrival of blue helmets.

Ante Markovic was the third official that Vance and Gouliding met today. They first met Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and then Federal Secretary for National Defense General Veljko Kadijevic. [passage omitted]

Kostic Meets Soviet Official on Crisis Situation

LD1811204991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic today received Gennadiy Shikin, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, at the latter's request.

Ambassador Shikin, as stated, briefed the vice president on the developments in the Soviet Union, especially regarding creation of the Union of Sovereign States.

On this occasion, the situation in Yugoslavia and efforts to overcome the state and political crisis were also discussed.

Emigrants Avoiding Mobilization Increasing

LD1911022891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—The flow of emigrants out of Yugoslavia bent on avoiding mobilization into the armed forces and the war is on the increase. TANJUG's correspondents report that the majority of these "new emigrants" have ended up in Austria, Hungary and Germany.

Spokeswoman for the Austrian Foreign Ministry Cornelia Zoppoth has told TANJUG's Vienna correspondent that there were in Austria just over a month ago about 2,000 asylum-seekers but that the number has in the meantime jumped up to no fewer than 4,600.

Roughly 100,000 Yugoslavs live in Vienna, 90 per cent of them Serbs.

Ms. Zoppoth told TANJUG's correspondent that there was no discrimination against the asylum-seekers from Yugoslavia according to their republic of origin. It has nevertheless been learned from unofficial sources that asylum-seekers from the north-western Republic of Croatia enjoy more favourable treatment, as the Croats are officially regarded here as the victims of the war raging in Yugoslavia, TANJUG's correspondent reports.

According to TANJUG's Budapest correspondent, some 40,000 people have fled from Yugoslavia to Hungary. However, he says that this is not a reliable figure but only an estimate by the competent authorities in Hungary. According to official figures, there are at the moment some 3,600 Yugoslavs in reception centres in Hungary, 68 per cent of them Croats, 26 per cent ethnic Hungarians, and

three per cent Serbs, while the remaining three per cent are ethnic Albanians, Macedonians and Romanies.

Italy's Immigration Ministry said recently that the total of 718,000 persons with foreign, non-E.C., passports in Italy included about 30,000 Yugoslavs. Refugee status, according to the ministry's data, is enjoyed by only a few hundred of them.

All other Yugoslavs are said to have arrived in Italy with irregular papers "on business or family reasons."

Czech Officials Say EC Embargo Not Binding

LD1911032191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—Czechoslovakia is not bound to honour the European Community embargo against Yugoslavia, a delegation of the Czech National Council said today in a conversation with deputies in the parliament of the Republic of Serbia.

In its visit to the parliament of Serbia, the delegation of the Czech National Council is headed by Karel Stindl, president of the Foreign Policy Committee, and the delegation of the Committee for International Relations of the Czech Republic by Viktorie Hradská.

It is in the interest of Czechoslovakia that the embargo on the deliveries of arms to Yugoslavia should be fully respected, the guests from the Czech republic said during their conversation with representatives of the ruling and opposition parties of the Serbian parliament.

President of the Serbian parliament's Foreign Policy Committee Aleksandar Prija said on the occasion that the armed conflict in Yugoslavia had been provoked by the secessionism of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which had unconstitutionally created their own armies.

President of the Serbian parliament Aleksandar Bakocevic told the guests that the Yugoslav community, which existed for 70 years, could not be abolished by unilateral decisions, and that the solution to the Yugoslav crisis had to be just and free of any double standards.

Solari Appointed Italian Consul in Koper, Slovenia

AU1811144691 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by B. S.: "New Italian Consul Appointed in Koper"]

[Text] Koper, 12 November—The new Italian consul general in Koper will be Luigi Solari. On 15 November he will replace the present consul Maurizio Lo Reja.

Previously, Luigi Solari was a member of the permanent Italian mission to the international organizations in Vienna.

Federal

Kostic: New Federal Government To Be Temporary

AU1911103491 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The new federal government will be temporary until conditions are ready for calling multiparty elections for the federal parliament. This was stated tonight by Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency. Appearing as a guest at a roundtable discussion organized by the Serbian Democratic Party of Serbia, Dr. Kostic said that the composition of the government is still an open question. He also said that the SFRY Presidency will not accept the UN peace force if they were sent to the administrative borders in Yugoslavia.

Three Republics Answer Prime Ministerial Call

LD1811221591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1952 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 18 (TANJUG)—None of the six Yugoslav republics have proposed a candidate for the new prime minister to the Yugoslav Presidency, TANJUG learns.

The Yugoslav Presidency, which will tomorrow discuss proposed candidates for the new prime minister, on Friday [15 November] set a deadline to the republics of 15:00 hrs local time today (1400 GMT) for sending in their proposals.

Only four of the eight members of the Yugoslav state Presidency have been attending sessions since October 3rd.

After the incomplete Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Federal Assembly gave a no-confidence vote to Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic on Friday, the Yugoslav Presidency adopted the decision to ask the republics to nominate candidates for the new federal prime minister.

Markovic assessed at a press conference today that the vote of no confidence had been an illegal and illegitimate act, because the session had been attended by much less than one-half the deputies.

The Yugoslav Presidency has so far received answers only from the Republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, TANJUG learned.

A letter by head of the Office of Croatian President Hrvoje Sarinic underscores that Croatia believes that the request of the Yugoslav Presidency for a proposal for the new federal prime minister is "pointless."

"It is the stand of the Republic of Croatia that federal institutions no longer exist de facto, so that, among other things, neither do the Federal Assembly nor the federal government," the Croatian reply says.

President of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina Momcilo Krajisnik said that that body was not able to name a candidate by the set deadline because it did not plan to convene these days.

The reply of the Montenegrin Presidency underscores that "Montenegro cannot propose a candidate for the new federal prime minister."

Prime Minister Markovic on Removal Attempts

Says Life May Be in Danger

LD1811161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—"I think my life is in physical danger. Representatives of some radical groups announced my physical liquidation, abduction, or something similar," Ante Markovic told journalists when asked whether he feels safe after the Chamber of Republics and Provinces passed a vote of no-confidence in him.

If someone can be blamed for the destruction of Yugoslavia, then I am certainly not that person, Markovic said inter alia at a hastily called news conference in Belgrade's Palace of the Federation.

Finds Chamber's Vote 'Illegal'

LD1811201691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1849 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today said that the vote of no confidence he had received in the bicameral Federal Assembly's incomplete Chamber of Republic and Provinces was illegal and illegitimate.

Speaking at a press conference, Markovic said that the session had been attended by far less than one-half of the membership.

I am in my cabinet, because there is no reason why I should not be here and why I should not carry on with my duties and exercise my rights, the federal prime minister said.

"If anybody can be said to be dismembering Yugoslavia, it is certainly not me," Markovic said when asked if he was afraid he would be prosecuted. He added, however, that he was not entirely free from worry, but would remain in Belgrade for as long as necessary.

The other chamber of the federal parliament—the Federal Chamber—should also vote on confidence in the federal prime minister.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia, whose sessions have since October 3 been attended by four of the eight members, has scheduled a session for tomorrow to define a list of candidates for the next federal prime minister, although the Federal Chamber has not yet voted, Markovic said.

Asked if he might resign before the session of the Federal Chamber, Markovic opined that there was no reason for such a step. "There is no pressure to which I would yield," he said.

Markovic announced that the federal government would this afternoon discuss the consequences of the vote of no confidence in the prime minister and that he would this evening confer with Cyrus Vance, the U.N. secretary general's special envoy to Yugoslavia.

Markovic replied in the negative when asked if he personally felt safe after the no-confidence vote.

"Representatives of some radical currents have spoken about my physical elimination, abduction or something like that," the federal prime minister said.

Markovic said that the conclusion of the process for his replacement could bring nothing but relief to him personally. "The consequences to the state, with another undemocratic act, and the demolition of the only institution which is still functioning and which is recognized abroad, will become apparent very soon," the federal prime minister stressed.

Paper Examines Ouster

AU1911130791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
18 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by Djoko Kesic: "The Premier Had To Go"]

[Text] Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, is leaving the federal government at a time when his cabinet has found itself at the edge of nonsense. The government has ended up on the margins of our economic and political reality. The political scene is being vacated by a man whose political credo was optimism and whose amplitude of rises and falls more or less reflected the fate of Yugoslavia.

The most dramatic accusations ascribed to Premier Markovic in Serbian-Croatian relations were completed with the statement by Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, who said that he had irrefutable evidence that Markovic was in the service of the new Croatian authorities. One should expect Kostic and the remaining three members of the SFRY Presidency to reveal this evidence. If Ante Markovic anyway joined the current Croatian authorities, any attempt to prove his pro-Yugoslav good intentions will be superfluous.

Markovic took over the federal government at the most dramatic economic moment. In March 1989, the economy was in total collapse, inflation had reached the 2,500 percent mark. In his inauguration speech Markovic said that Yugoslavia will be a country of new socialism with a modern

economy, a free man.... In the two and half years of the work of the government he has done many things that would, under more fortunate circumstances, put Yugoslavia on a modern European footing.

Why did he, after all, have to fall?

His economic policy measures, which were adopted in the SFRY Assembly at the end of 1989, instilled great hopes in the majority of citizens. In the first half of 1990, Yugoslavia was an example to the countries of the former socialist world of how to make a painless transition from one system to another. Inflation had been checked, the dinar was made convertible, and private entrepreneurship started to strike deep roots.

The political popularity of the premier reached that of Broz [Tito], which must have pleased his ego very much. In the end, this led him to make two serious mistakes in 1990. In July of that year he felt too strong: he approved loans for agriculture, which was not envisaged in his reform program, and in this way opened the door to the new inflationary blow. In the same month, he announced his own political party at a rally on Mount Kozara, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. He ended that year with a corroded reform program. In 1991, he mainly waited for political and economic support from Europe and the United States, which did not come. As regards his own image, he ended in a strange way: he openly accused General Kadijevic, his minister, of wanting to kill him by bombing Banski Dvori; he clumsily tried to justify himself and wash his hands of his role in the Slovene war and the incomplete explanation by the government regarding the armament of the paramilitary formations in Croatia and Slovenia.

Of course, this does not mean that the role of the government in arming paramilitary formations in Croatia and Slovenia was decisive. All this was also happening before the eyes of the Army and the SFRY Presidency (a documentary film has also been made about this). For these reasons, accusing only Markovic and the federal government is unfounded.

Superficial analyses today claim that Markovic's biggest fault was the fact that he is a Croat. If he were by any chance a Serb, he would have gone from the position of the president of the Federal Executive Council much earlier. He would have been replaced by some hand of Serbian politics. He was accused by his opponents when he bit the apple of "original sin," the transformation of social property. This question caused the most direct divisions on the Yugoslav political scene. The Slovenes were essentially his most ardent political opponents from the very beginning. At the end of 1989, when the Slovenes drafted the first independence declaration, the federal government did not react adequately. Had the Federal Executive Council clearly and openly opposed the new Slovene course at that time, things would have developed differently.

The Croats have never officially opposed Markovic's policy, nor have they supported it, but have consistently, together with the Slovenes, been freezing the main lever of the government's reforms—the Law on Flow of Social Capital. Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have most consistently supported the policy of the federal government. Serbian politicians have always been in some kind of war with Markovic. Despite this, the premier's economic plan did in fact have the greatest success in Serbia. Incomparably more enterprises became mixed ownership enterprises in Serbia than anywhere else. More private enterprises and firms were founded in this republic than anywhere else. Markovic spent a large amount of his time on "disputes" with Slobodan Milosevic. What makes the paradox even greater, is the fact the premier was the most popular in Serbia.

After all this, Markovic's departure was expected. It was only a question whether he was going to do it himself or whether he would be dismissed by the truncated SFRY Presidency. As expected, the latter happened.

According to some assessments, the Serbia-Montenegrin force in the Presidency chose the moment to do it when it became necessary to assume control of the monetary authority in the country, together with the printing of money. They suddenly found the formal backing for this decision in the quorum which miraculously happened to exist in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. This quorum, which no longer matters anyway, will also meet on Thursday [21 November] at a session of the Federal Chamber, which is supposed to constitute itself. Whether the chamber exists or not, the SFRY Presidency has decided to replace Markovic and a part of his team and place a new man at the helm. It is still a puzzle without an answer who that will be, whose government it will be, and what its power in (the rest of) the country and abroad will be.

Markovic's era has ended ingloriously.

What will the new semi-war or war government aim for?

Defense Ministry Denies Massacre Plans in Vukovar

LD1811153991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—A representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has told TANJUG that "the latest requests by the Croatian Government are unwarranted because there are no grounds to fear a massacre of civilians, children, and the elderly in Vukovar. It is more likely that this is an attempt to blame the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] for the crimes already committed." Colonel Miodrag Starcevic said in connection with a request from Zagreb that the JNA protect the citizens of Vukovar from allegedly "militant Chetniks and terrorists."

Miodrag Starcevic stressed that a month ago, when the Medicines Sans Frontiers was evacuating wounded from

Vukovar, the JNA proposed that all civilians, specifically children, be evacuated from Vukovar. The Croatian side rejected this explicitly and used its civilians as a human shield, Starcevic said.

The JNA, together with the Red Cross, was the only one to secure humanitarian aid for Vukovar.

Noting that many eyewitnesses confirm that the Army made efforts to protect civilians in Vukovar, Miodrag Starcevic said that "Europe should be ashamed. It is not sending humanitarian aid, but it is sending aid only to the Croatian side."

"Humanitarian aid does not take account of borders and is given to all people equally. Aid brought in by ship and aircraft is offered to Dubrovnik, but not to Papuk or Bilogora, for example," Miodrag Starcevic noted.

Kosovo Albanians Travel to Macedonia Prevented

LD1811180691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] A particular kind of customs control has been introduced on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. Serbian police have been preventing Albanians from travelling to Macedonia. A similar blockade is in force on the border with Serbia. The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova] announced that a report about this will be sent to international institutions with the request that provisions be made for travels from Kosovo and the circulation of Albanian capital to be carried out via Albania.

Slovenia

Pucnik Views Demos Crisis, New Constitution

AU1811191791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Even after a two-day meeting in Poljce, the crisis in the government coalition continues. The only agreement reached was that a referendum be held on the government's privatization proposal. The question that now arises is whether the work of the so-called minority government [manjsinska vlada] is still possible in the present circumstances. Talks about the vote of confidence in the government will begin in the parties in the next few days. Deputies from the Demos coalition are expected to decide on it on Wednesday [20 November]. Let us hear what Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of Demos, thinks about this. He was interviewed by Sandi Frelih:

[Begin recording] [Pucnik] Well, the minority government will, of course, have to remain because, if I may say so, somebody must carry out these duties. However, this government is not essentially a government, because it cannot govern. In order to govern, one needs a majority in the parliament, and if a government does not have this majority then it is very difficult to do anything sensible.

The current situation demands a government that has sufficient support in parliament, therefore, the most rational solution would be to hold new elections. Of course, all this assumes that Demos' majority no longer exists, that it is crumbling, and that it is not reliable in the sense that the government could assert its policies. The present circumstances—primarily the economic circumstances, but the foreign affairs situation as well, in view of the fact that we have not yet been recognized—are such that we need a government that is capable of making decisions, is able to react swiftly and efficiently to the changes in society, and primarily to the problems emerging in our new state.

The economic and social problems are so grave that we really do not have time for long political discussions. Therefore, we have to ascertain whether a majority exists or not, whether it is possible to somehow supplement this majority, or whether to opt for new elections as soon as possible. I personally believe that the best and most reliable option is to hold new elections as soon as possible and that Slovene citizens should decide who will have the prevailing political influence in Slovenia, and how.

[Frelih] Of course, the first condition for holding new elections is the adoption of the new constitution and things are not completely clear here?

[Pucnik] They are not completely clear, but information is such that it seems highly likely that it will be possible to adopt the new constitution before the anniversary of the referendum [23 December]. However, if this does not take place, then this will, of course, represent a great problem. For this problem as well, the only solution would be to organize a referendum and to achieve at least a change in the structure of the Assembly. That is to say that the Chamber of Associated Labor is dismissed, the remaining two chambers—the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of Communes—merge into one single chamber, and that elections are then held for such a form of the Assembly. This is not the best solution, but merely a provisional one, and I am hoping, still hoping, that it will not be necessary to take such steps.

In order to find some solution, at least for these matters, the political maturity of all political parties will be called for, in Demos and in the opposition alike. [end recording]

Republic Refuses To Sign Protection Treaty

LD1911021591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2232 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has refused to sign a convention on the protection of war reporters, the republican government announced today.

The convention has been prepared by the Journalists' Association of Serbia and submitted to the relevant authorities of the six Yugoslav republics.

The Slovenian Government explains that it has no fault to find with the text of the convention, but that the republican authorities refuse to sign it on the grounds that "it does not have the force of an international legal act."

Slovenia declared independence on June 25 and confirmed its secession from Yugoslavia on October 7.

The Information Ministry of another Yugoslav republic—Montenegro—has announced that the republican authorities have approved the text of the convention.

In the six months of war in the Republic of Croatia, 19 reporters have been killed and two Soviet reporters have disappeared.

Croatia

Council Recalls Mesic From Federal Presidency

LD1811225891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2250 GMT 18 Nov 91

["Urgent" item]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The State Council of the Republic of Croatia this evening decided to recall Stjepan Mesic from the Presidency of Yugoslavia. Mesic has held the rotating Presidency since May.

Assembly Renounces Individuals in Federal Organs

LD1811230791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The 39th session of the Supreme State Council of Croatia was held today in Zagreb under the chairmanship of Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. At the session consideration was given to measures in connection with the situation on the battlefields, especially in Vukovar, and to stances regarding Croatian representatives in institutions of the former Yugoslav federation.

The council discussed the difficult situation in Vukovar which has come about in the wake of the three month-long heroic defense in unequal siege conditions and amid the continuous arrival of fresh enemy forces. The enemy has exploited the difficulties in supplying Vukovar and bringing out the injured, sick and children to highlight defeatism and shift responsibility onto the leadership of the [Croatian] Assembly and the government of the Republic of Croatia with the aim of destroying the constitutional order.

The president of the Republic adopted a decision to set up a commission which should carry out an analysis and submit a report on all the actions which have been taken

by individual organs of the Croatian authorities in the defense of Vukovar and in the discovery of the initiators of and participants in the attempted overthrow of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.

Josip Manolic, Milan Ramljak, Gojko Susak, Ivan Vekic, Zdravko Mustac, Josip Perkovic, Zeljko Olujic, and Stjepan Herceg have been appointed to the commission.

In connection with the putschist deed of the Presidency of the former Yugoslavia to establish its own federal institutions and call on Croatia to put forward its candidate for President of the Federal Executive Council, the Supreme State Council concluded as follows:

The Assembly and authorities of the Republic of Croatia have already called on the representatives of Croatia to leave the federal institutions and place themselves at the disposal of the Republic of Croatia—something which many have done. The Republic of Croatia accepted the earlier request of the EC and the international community that it leave the representatives of Croatia in the Yugoslav Presidency and at the head of the federal government and of the federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat during the transitional period of the political and legal resolution of the crisis—something which would facilitate dissociation. The latest moves of the putschist authorities in Belgrade prove the correctness of earlier assessments that the federal government and other federal institutions cannot, in such conditions, carry out this function either.

The Republic of Croatia renounces any right of individuals from the Republic of Croatia who still remain in the federal government and in federal institutions to represent in any way the Republic of Croatia in the former Yugoslavia and abroad. This relates in particular to the federal government, the further activity of which would hamper the denouement of the crisis and harm the interests of the Republic of Croatia.

The council welcomed today's decision of the West European Union to send, in keeping with earlier requests of the Republic of Croatia, warships to the Adriatic so as to insure the passage of humanitarian convoys and unblock the ports.

Dubrovnik Crisis Committee Proposes Cease-Fire

*LD1811152591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] The Crisis Committee of the Dubrovnik municipality has sent a letter to the Command of the Boka Naval Sector and the EC monitoring mission, proposing a cease-fire agreement and a disengagement line, and asking for assurances that normal living conditions in Dubrovnik will be created until the Yugoslav People's Army withdrawal from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The proposals are based on negotiations that have taken place and Yugoslav army proposals.

Having apologized because Dubrovnik representatives could not come to Cavtat due to high winds, the municipal Crisis Committee says that they accept the Yugoslav army proposal that the announced meeting be held tomorrow in the occupied town of Cavtat.

The proposal to the Boka Naval Sector Command lists terms for a cease-fire and a disengagement line, and asks that EC monitors observe the implementation of an agreement. Among the proposals are the lifting of the sea blockade of Dubrovnik and all islands in the municipality, and the exchange of prisoners. [passage omitted]

JNA Forces To Leave Pula by 10 Dec

*LD1911051591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Pula, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—By 10 December at the latest, members of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] within the Pula naval sector will leave the town of Pula to coincide with the departure of the 13th Army Corps from the region of Rijeka announced the Pula municipality emergency center today. The conditions for the Army's departure from Pula will be formulated by the tripartite commission of representatives of the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and of the Zagreb-based EC observer mission. A common desire was expressed today following the meeting between representatives of the Pula municipality, the Pula garrison command, and the EC observers for the JNA units, to leave Istria without any incidents or provocations by either side. It is expected that the remaining JNA units will be restationed in barracks at Muzilo by the end of the week.

Reportage Continues on Fierce Fighting in Vukovar

Official Writes to EC Envoy

*LD1811150591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Letter from Drazen Budisa, member of the Croatian Government, to EC Ambassador in Zagreb Dirk van Houten]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Ambassador, we have just learned from Marin Vidic-Bili, the Croatian Government's commissioner in Vukovar, that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] Colonel Mrksic had given an ultimatum for the surrender of Vukovar. The JNA thereby has demonstrated formally that it does not respect the cease-fire, since there can be no surrender during cease-fires. This demand by the JNA jeopardizes the implementation of The Hague agreements since it is putting temptation in Croatia's way.

I ask you, Mr. Ambassador, urgently to warn the Federal Secretariat for National Defense that their ultimatum breaches all our agreements and that they are responsible

for the consequences of that ultimatum. I also ask you to inform Lord Carrington about this.

Commanders Agree To Surrender

LD1811190491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Most of the Croatian guardists and police, surrounded in Vukovar, agreed to surrender to Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) units at around 1500 [1400 GMT] today, it was announced in the JNA press center in Negoslavci.

National Guard Corps Commander Mile Dedakovic-Jastrebovic called on all guardists to surrender to the Army over the radio at 1450.

At least 5,000 people left the town by 1700 this afternoon.

The surrender of the guard and the police and the evacuation of civilians from Vukovar went on throughout the afternoon. Negotiations on the surrender were carried out today in the presence of European observers and the International Red Cross in Vukovar itself.

Members of the Army are carrying out strict checks on those leaving Vukovar. Women, children, and the elderly are leaving immediately to wherever they wish to go. Some are being taken by bus to territory under the control of Croatian forces, while others are departing for Serbia. Lengthy columns of people have formed at the Vukovar departure points.

Guardists and police are being detained and disarmed by the Army. One or two of them at the moment of surrender were expressing their intolerance vis-a-vis the army, it is alleged.

Military sources further announced that the whole town center has been under Army control since noon today but that all houses and cellars have not yet been searched.

Guardists who were stationed in Mitnica and Srd, in the southeastern part of the town, have also surrendered to the Army. The Army has not yet entered the settlement of Mitnica which, during the several months of fighting, was one of the strongest bases of the Croatian forces in Vukovar.

It is now impossible to establish precisely how many of those who have so far left the town center and Mitnica are guardists and police and how many of them are civilians.

In Vukovar itself, the shooting almost completely died out this afternoon. Only sporadic bursts of gunfire from light weapons are to be heard.

Struggle To Save 15,000 Civilians

LD1811225391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] All those who stayed in the town of Vukovar can now only save their lives, not setting any conditions except asking for a guarantee that they will be safely evacuated.

Croatian Government Commissioner for Vukovar Marin Vidic-Bili, and the head of the Vukovar medical center Dr. Vesna Bosanac are today fighting with the remaining few persons who did not flee this town to save 15,000 civilians, the only things left in the wrecked town. Their fighting is desperate because a town, which is called a hero, was allowed to get into a situation where not only bullets and shell fragments but also contagious diseases and hunger are claiming people's lives. Day-long contacts with leading Croatian Government officials tasked with the resolution of the Vukovar problem, and on the other side with representatives of the Yugoslav Army and the European peace mission, have not resulted in any agreement which would secure the safe evacuation of the inhabitants of Vukovar and Borovo from these wrecks.

Members of the European mission who set off toward Vukovar from Belgrade phoned the Vukovar medical center around 1215 today from Negoslavci, promising they would visit the center if allowed to do so. Since then Vukovar has not heard any more from them; instead, a rumor was spread about a violated agreement. According to this rumor, Mr Granic conveyed General Raseta's statement to Dr Bosanac that 5,000 civilians, escorted by members of the International Red Cross, were evacuated from the southern part of the town to Lipovac. However, the agreement was that members of this organization would first visit the Vukovar hospital, and therefore this act is considered unilateral.

Safety in any of its forms is completely foreign to the Vukovar battlefield today. The enemy's scenario, which does not leave Vukovar peaceful for a single moment, has not been abandoned today. Missiles were killing the little hope and optimism still existing among civilians and the wounded, who have lived in a lethal encirclement for 87 days without any sign of late 20th-century civilization.

Army aircraft were also overflying Vukovar today. Several planes overflew the very center of the town, which is completely separated from its outskirts, Borovo Naselje and Mitnica. Due to the complete isolation of each of these parts, we do not have precise details about developments in the eastern and western parts of the municipality, but explosions of destructive missiles and bursts of fire which we can now hear testify that the war is continuing.

So, last battles are being fought for the existence not of the town, but of the people who live in it. In order to save people's lives the negotiations must succeed, and that

would eventually represent at least one victory for Croatian diplomacy regarding the war in Vukovar.

JNA Soldiers Detained

LD1911101991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Dalj, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Last night and this morning, members of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] Novi Sad Corps discovered and captured several groups of disguised members of Croatian paramilitary formations who tried to leave Vukovar and Borovo Naselje in civilian clothes. This has been learned from military sources.

JNA units are discovering in the cellars of deserted houses and sewage pipes weapons, food stores, and ammunition, as well as discarded uniforms which guardsmen and Croatian policemen left behind when changing into plain clothes. With the help of the Serbian territorial defense and of members of the public, JNA units are discovering disguised fighters trying to leave Borovo and Borovo Naselje in long columns, and are handing them to military-investigative authorities. [passage omitted]

Borovo Naselje Defense Commander Captured

LD191112391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Borovo Naselje, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—According to sources close to the Novi Sad Corps Command, the commander of the Croatian armed paramilitary formations for Borovo and Borovo Naselje was captured while trying to flee the area.

Military sources have not yet revealed his name, but it is known that the captured man is the "(defense) leader" nicknamed "Brka" [Moustache]

At this moment, "Brka" is in the hands of the military investigative bodies. Details of the arrest and further investigation will be released during the day.

POLITIKA Reporters Ordered Out of Offices

LD1811211791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The Zagreb City Assembly today informed POLITIKA's Zagreb correspondents to vacate their business premises "immediately." In a tersely phrased note from the "Commission for Business Premises of the Zagreb City Assembly," it is alleged that this commission concluded on 29 October that proceedings be initiated to empty the business premises of POLITIKA, but no explanation or reason for initiating the proceedings for the decision on the "vacation" is given.

Editors working for the POLITIKA publishing company in Zagreb have appealed to Croatian Information Minister Branko Salaj for help, stressing that the editorial offices have been located in these premises for a full 45 years now.

"We have always fulfilled all our material obligations and invested enormous material resources in equipment and modernization," it says in the note to the information minister in which the POLITIKA correspondents express regret at the unusually arrogant procedure, which they call "the most flagrant example of the violation of the law by the organs of the city administration."

Over the past few days, the correspondent of the Skopje paper NOVA MAKEDONIJA has also been thrown out of her residence, while the editors of TANJUG for the Republic of Croatia have this year also been thrown out of the premises from which they operated for more than 45 years.

Slavonian Serbs To Settle 'Temporarily' in Baranja

LD1911021891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1654 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—Over 800 Serbs, refugees from western Slavonia, will be resettled temporarily in the region of Baranja in homes vacated by refugee Croats.

Mileta Jankovic, a senior official in Baranja centre Beli Manastir, told TANJUG today that the refugees from western Slavonia (200 families), who also included some Croats, Moslems, ethnic Albanians and ethnic Hungarians, would arrive in Baranja tomorrow. He said there were in Baranja at this moment about 4,700 sealed homes whose owners had fled from the region.

Baranja is a part of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia) in which the Serbs make up a majority population.

The refugee Serbs from western Slavonia fled from the terror of Croatia's paramilitary formations, which recently burned down 18 villages in the area and massacred those of its inhabitants who did not succeed in evading them.

Jankovic assessed the resettlement of Serbs as a "trial run for all other areas in which newly established states could agree to resettle people and property between the Croatian state and the Serbian regions."

Krajina Reacts to Possible UN Force Deployment

LD1811191191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Regarding the Yugoslav Presidency's initiative on deploying the UN peace-keeping forces in resolving the Yugoslav state crisis, the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Krajina Government today revealed its stands. The government totally agrees and supports the view recently expressed by Milan

Babic that peacekeeping forces would be deployed to prevent Croatian aggression on the SAO of Krajina.

The Krajina Government makes it clear that peacekeeping forces will not be allowed to enter Krajina territory without government approval. The Krajina Government also stresses its orientation "for a political resolution without force on issues that can be resolved politically." It has specifically underlined that Krajina had already voted in referendum to live in one state with other Serbs on the territory of Yugoslavia, but in the interest of a stable and lasting peace in this part of the world it would call another referendum.

The referendum would be called by the Krajina Assembly. UN representatives would control and supervise the referendum through a commission for referendum. Representatives of the world organization would provide assurances about the validity of referendum results, the Krajina Government says in its stands on a possible deployment of peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia and a new referendum.

Dragan Returns to Krajina To Organize Defenses

LD1811191691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Captain Dragan is back in Knin Krajina. The Captain Dragan Fund specifies in a statement: "After having to leave the Knin Krajina five months ago for incomprehensible reasons and at the demand of Milan Babic, Captain Dragan returned to the Knin Krajina last night at the invitation of presidents of municipal assemblies and the people to help them organize defenses", the statement forwarded to TANJUG says.

Serbia

President Bakocevic Says Zagreb 'Key to Peace'

LD1911040591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0233 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 18 (TANJUG)—The key to peace in Yugoslavia is not in Belgrade, but in Zagreb, Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia's parliament, said here this evening.

Neither the Yugoslav People's Army nor the Serb-populated Krajinas (border lands) in Croatia wish war. If the Croatian authorities consent to a cease-fire, it will be observed, for sure, Bakocevic said while addressing a session of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia.

Referring to a possible coming of "blue helmets," Bakocevic said that, the most acceptable variant to the Serbs, is that the U.N. peacekeeping units be deployed between the warring sides. In his view, a thing unacceptable and technically not feasible is that the units be deployed along borders on Serbia, he emphasized, elaborating that a compromise is possible as well.

The blue helmets could be deployed, except along the line dividing the fighting parties, also in depth so as to shield the Serbian population at the same time and to satisfy Croatia's demands.

For his part, Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbia's foreign minister, said that Serbia's chief weapon at the international scene is to insist on legitimacy and international law.

In the framework of the CSCE and U.N. documents, "not a single comma can be disputed to Serbia's stands," Jovanovic pointed out, adding that "it cannot be accepted that a member nation of the international community be eliminated with one stroke of the pen," and this is thought of by many U.N. member nations as well, he said.

Serbia was late and let "Croatia's aggressive propaganda misrepresent that republic's totalitarian regime as a democratic one before the world," Minister Jovanovic observed.

'Militants' Attack YUTEL's Belgrade Offices

LD1811170291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—A group of militants broke into the Belgrade premises of YUTEL at around 1400 GMT this afternoon and attacked everything in their way with clubs: journalists, cameramen, and secretaries. They injured Milovan Obrenovic, a security guard, who was taken to a hospital with a cut eye, YUTEL says in a statement to TANJUG.

The attackers demolished furniture and equipment and after a 10-minute destructive raid left the building.

The investigative bodies of the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs came to carry out an on-the-spot investigation. YUTEL workers identified several attackers, who introduced themselves as White Eagles. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Activists Arrested

AU1911124591 Pristina FJALA in Albanian No. 43 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: Spectacular Arrests in Lipjan"]

[Text] At 1200 the day before yesterday [date not given], the Serbian police arrested five members of the Presidium of the Lipjan Branch of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK], the chairwoman of the Women's Forum, the chairman of the Youth Forum, and several chairmen of LDK subbranches in Lipjan Commune. The arrests were carried out by more than 10 policemen accompanied by one civilian. The police remained for a while at the LDK office, which is registered with the police authorities, searching the premises and taking away all its papers and documentation.

All Lipljan's LDK activists were then forced to walk to the police station, about two kilometers away. It was market day in Lipljan, and the police aimed to cause some kind of incident by escorting so many activists, an LDK Information Center communique states.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

President Izetbegovic Stresses Hague Document

*LD1911023491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2258 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, November 18 (TANJUG)—Presidency president of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic tonight said that there is only one way for the Yugoslav community to survive, and that is Lord Carrington's plan, and that he had said this to his hosts in Athens.

Izetbegovic tonight returned from official visits to the Sudan and Greece.

Izetbegovic told reporters that he believes he had convinced his Greek hosts of the correctness of the stand that Yugoslavia can survive only if The Hague document is accepted, with possible minor corrections.

"Greece believes that it would be highly unfavourable for Yugoslavia to disintegrate into six independent little states," Izetbegovic said.

Bosnian Croats To Set Up 'Community'

*LD1911000891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Report by Slavko Rako from Grude]

[Text] Representatives of 30 municipalities from Bosnia-Herzegovina with a majority Croatian population this evening signed a statement to the effect that at this difficult time in its history and at the time when the last communist army in Europe, aided by Chetniks, has been threatening the survival of the Croatian state and the Croatian nation, the Croatian people of Bosnia-Herzegovina have concluded that their future is linked with the future of the entire Croatian nation. We, Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, the statement says, through our party, the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] and through our elected representatives in the organs of power in the republic, have stood in favor of a sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina, as long as others do not start dividing it.

We are now, however, witnessing attempts to divide and to grab the territories and property of others. Serbs have been setting up so-called Serbian autonomous regions of Krajina, dismantling Bosnia-Herzegovina and threatening the territories which have been ours for centuries. Faced with the dangers looming over our nation and over the integrity of our historical and ethnic territories, and aware of our historical responsibility to defend

Croatian ethnic and historical territories and the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we, the elected representatives of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, have decided to set up the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, the statement, signed in Grude this evening, stresses.

Under a resolution also signed this evening, the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna is being set up as a political, cultural, economic, and political entity comprising 30 municipalities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most important article in the resolution says that the community will recognize the democratically elected authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for as long as it maintains its independence as a state in relation to the former or any future Yugoslavia.

The meeting in Grude was chaired by Vice President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ Mate Boban, who was elected the first president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

Establishment of Groups Viewed

*LD1911135191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The establishment of the Herceg-Bosna Croatian community in Grude yesterday, as well as the formation of a regional committee of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosanska Posavina are warning acts of the self-organization of the Croatian people which are not in the implementation phase. This is how Stjepan Kljucic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina and member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, speaking at a news conference today, assessed the establishment of these communities, stressing that they "respect the democratically elected government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as long as Bosnia-Herzegovina exists as an independent state in relation to the former or any future Yugoslavia."

The documents adopted in Grude and Brcko are the expression of the political will of the Croatian people in sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina and an expression of our readiness to show our power in practice, Kljucic explained, speaking of the formation of these communities. We can move freely through areas populated by Croatian and Muslim people, while we cannot do that through areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina populated by Serbs. Croatian refugees from Cazin were not allowed to pass through Kljuc, he said.

Stjepan Kljucic and Mariofil Ljubic described Branko Kostic's initiative to appoint a new federal prime minister as illegal and illegitimate. They said that the denouement will take place in The Hague.

Muslim Villages Agree To Form New Municipality
LD1811204891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Summary] Bijeljina, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Ten Muslim-populated villages and one village with Croatian population from the area covered by Lopare municipality today participated in a referendum and came out in favor of setting up a new municipality with the seat in Celic. The decision to set up the new municipality was made in response to a recent decision by the Lopare municipal assembly to join the newly created autonomous region of northeast Bosnia, with the seat in Ugljevik.

Macedonia

Albanians Question Validity of New Constitution
AU1911165291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The leaders of Albanian parties are contesting the legitimacy of the Macedonian Constitution because it is unacceptable to Albanian people. This was pointed out at a news conference by the leaders of the Party for Democratic Prosperity in Skopje today. They stressed that the new Macedonian Constitution deprives the Albanians of the right to express support for a Kosovo republic. An anti-Albanian mood is growing in Macedonia following Albanians' refusal to vote in favor of the Constitution. Boris Djordjioski reports:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] The deputies of Albanian parties, the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the People's Democratic Party, did not vote for the new Macedonian Constitution, not because they are against a sovereign and independent Macedonia, but because the highest state act of this republic is not acceptable to Albanians in Macedonia. Considering Macedonia to be their state, the Albanian people justifiably expected that their legitimate right to a common state with Macedonians would be realized, but this did not happen. This was pointed out by Mirhad Emini, general secretary of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, saying that the Albanians were deprived of the right to use the Albanian language as an official language and the right to education at all levels, and that they are only treated as a minority and not a nation, and that they are not allowed to use Albanian flag.

The Macedonians have adopted for themselves a Macedonian Constitution to the detriment of Albanians. Albanian deputies did not vote, and therefore they now dispute the legitimacy of the new constitution. Macedonians have placed themselves above others, which means that they have deprived others of rights, which, according to Emini, means that President Gligorov and the president of the parliament, Stojan Andov, advocated the equality of Albanians in Macedonia only in words.

Emini revealed that Albanian parties in Macedonia strive for the creation of a Kosovo republic within the coordination body of political movements and parties of Albanians in Yugoslavia. This sheds completely different light on the claims about the nondemocratic Macedonian Constitution. It is obvious that the idea of a Kosovo Republic and the creation of a Greater Albania, which would, of course, include parts of Macedonia, has not been abandoned. Moreover, there was obvious pressure, a real party pressure on Albanian deputies not to vote for the new Macedonian Constitution. Ten out of the total of 23 Albanian deputies were in favor of the constitution, but at the end they had to obey the party order and not vote in favor of the new Macedonian Constitution, and then challenge its legitimacy.

One could say that this kind of behavior on the Macedonian political scene has been encountered before. First there was a boycott of the census, then the referendum, and now the constitution. This is why the doubts in Macedonia, in light of the situation of the Albanians in the Macedonian state, are growing. [end recording]

Krusevo Citizens Protest Not Gaining Status

LD1811234691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Krusevo, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—A protest meeting was organized in Krusevo today because the new constitution of the Republic of Macedonia does not permit this town to acquire a similar status to that of Andorra. The inhabitants of Krusevo are dissatisfied because deputies did not accept Article 118, which would make it possible for Krusevo to become a (duty-)free shopping zone.

It was confirmed at the protest meeting that this small town will not give up its plans and that it will continue its efforts to realise them. Participants of the protest meeting requested that the responsibility of their deputy in the republican Assembly, Marin Milenkovski of the Social-Democratic Alliance [Socijaldemokratski Savez Makedonije], be established because, it was said, he has failed to advocate this initiative sufficiently.